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Edsall and Tuttle

First Sussex [Co.,
N.J.] Centennary 1853

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THE FIRST
SUSSEX CENTENNARY,

CONTAINING THE
ADDRESSES

OF

B. B. EDSALL, ESQ., AND REV. J. F. TUTTLE,

WITH NOTES, APPENDIX, &c.

NEWARK :
PUBLISHED BY A. L. DENNIS & BROTHER.
1854.



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1854 April 24.

Wm. A. Brewster, Esq.
New York City.

SUSSEX CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

At a public meeting held pursuant to notice, in Newton, on Monday evening, June 27th, to take measures in relation to the Sussex county Centennial Celebration, a large number of citizens being present, DAVID RYERSON, Esq., was called to the Chair, and the Rev. NATHANIEL PETTIT appointed Secretary.

On motion, a committee of five was raised to report resolutions suggesting a line of action upon the subject. During their retirement, there was a general interchange of sentiment among the citizens favorable to the celebration. When the committee re-appeared, they reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, viz. :

WHEREAS, This is the one hundredth year since the separation of Sussex county from the county of Morris, and its organization during the reign of George II., in the year of our Lord, 1753—we, the inhabitants, bearing in remembrance the deeds of our ancestors, and the various trials, vicissitudes and labors which they underwent in the gradual progress of the county to its present state of advancement; in order to cherish those sentiments of patriotism which every man, and especially every freeman, should have for the place of his birth; and in order, moreover, to an interchange of fraternal feelings among our inhabitants, to unite us in still stronger bonds of harmony by the recollections of the past; to enable us more duly to appreciate our privileges and the present condition of our institutions; and besides, to afford a precedent to future generations, which shall testify, that we are not unmindful of the high privileges of our birthright: Therefore,

Resolved, That we cherish the profoundest feelings of patriotic regard for the county of our nativity, whose historical reminiscences are so rich with interest, and whose advantages and institutions are so worthy of our proudest admiration.

Resolved, That on the fifth day of October next, at Newton, we commemorate the organization of the county.

Resolved, That a Corresponding Committee of three be appointed to confer by letter or otherwise with such persons as are able and disposed to furnish any historical facts connected with the county, and to gather such traditional or statistical information as may give interest to the proceedings, and be worthy of preservation.

Resolved, That an Executive Committee of thirteen be appointed to make suitable arrangements for the Celebration, and to act as assistant Marshals upon the occasion.

Resolved, That a Supervisory Committee of three from each township be appointed, to procure a Marshal and an Orator, to exert their influence in

securing a co-operation in their various localities, and to take such a general oversight of the affairs connected with the Celebration as may tend to its successful accomplishment.

Resolved, That the natives of Sussex county, both at home and abroad, our adopted citizens, and the citizens of Warren county, once a part of Sussex, be cordially invited to join with us in the festivities.

After the adoption of the resolutions, the following gentlemen were selected to act upon the committees:

CORRESPONDING COMMITTEE.—B. B. Edsall, W. S. Johnson, D. S. Anderson.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—George H. Nelden, John Linn, Daniel Baker, John Kraber, Jonathan F. Shafer, John Townsend, Horace Warner, John W. Lane, Henry W. Johnson, Robert Hamilton, Thomas Anderson, James R. Hull, John McCarter, Jr.

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE.—Vernon—Lewis Dunn, Price Vanostrand, Thomas T. Simonson. Hardyston—Thomas Lawrence, Dr. Franklin Smith, Richard E. Edsall. Wantage—Rev. Peter Kanouse, Edward A. Stiles, Dr. Alexander Linn. Frankford—Alpheus Gustin, Charles Roe, Robert V. Armstrong. Montague—John H. Nelden, Isaac Bonnell, Jacob Hornbeck, Jr. Sandyston—John D. Everitt, David Depue, Timothy E. Shay. Wallpack—Peter Dewitt, Elijah Rosenkrans, Benjamin Hull. Stillwater—Dr. C. V. Moore, James Merkel, John W. Opdyke. Green—Isaac Shiner, Samuel H. Hunt, Nathaniel Drake. Byram—Cyrus S. Leport, Andrew A. Smalley, Peter Smith. Sparta—Richard R. Morris, Aaron H. Kelsey, Moses Woodruff. Lafayette—James B. Huston, John M. Kalts, John S. Brodrick. Newton—Rev. Nathaniel Pettit, Dr. Anthony D. Morford, Edward C. Moore.

On motion of John Linn, Esq., the following resolution relative to the committee composed of gentlemen from all parts of the county, was passed, viz.:

Resolved, That it is desirable that the Supervisory Committee should act as soon as practicable, and that they be requested to meet on Monday, the 11th of July, at the hotel of D. Cox, in Newton, at 12 o'clock, M., to organize and enter upon their duties.

On motion of Col. Robert Hamilton, it was unanimously resolved, that the proceedings of the meeting be published in all the newspapers in Sussex and Warren counties.

DAVID RYERSON, President.

N. PETTIT, Secretary.

The committees immediately entered upon the duties assigned them, using the most laudable exertions to make such preparations as would be suitable to an occasion of so much interest to the inhabitants of Sussex county. Gen. Lyman Edwards was appointed Marshal of the day, and Col. Simon Kilpatrick, Col. John W. Nyce, and Maj. Peter B. Shafer, assistants. B. B. Edsall, Esq., and the Rev. J. F. Tuttle were selected as Orators. Previous to the celebration, in all parts of the county great expectations had been raised, and it is to be recorded with pleasure, the most sanguine anticipations were not disappointed. Both the county newspapers contained a full description of the proceedings of the day, from which we shall make some extracts.

Says the *New Jersey Herald*: "The best and biggest day Old Sussex ever saw was last Wednesday. The Centennial Celebration for which such ample preparation had long been making, was duly ushered in on the morn-

ing of the ever memorable Fifth of October, by the ringing of bells from daylight to sunrise, the firing of artillery from the heights above the town, and a display of the American banner from the flag-staff upon the Court House, as well as from the balconies of numerous public and private dwellings. The day dawned serene, clear and tranquil, and ere its close, thousands upon thousands of citizens and strangers poured in as it were from the four quarters of the earth to renew their allegiance, like Pilgrims, to the land of their paternal home, some to the land of their birth, and hundreds of others rejoicing in their place of adoption."

But the young, whose hearts were beating high with enthusiasm, and the middle-aged, who were performing their duties patriotically, in various states of life, were not the only persons who composed the vast assemblage. Venerable men with whitened locks, and bending forms, and tottering steps were there. They came to recount in memory the scenes of their childhood, to meet each other once more and exchange congratulations, and to gaze for the last time upon the immense throng of their children and their children's children who were soon to fill their places.

Says the *Sussex Register*: "When the design of calling together so many veterans of the county as might be possible was suggested, the importance of the occasion assumed its most interesting aspect. There were venerable men scattered here and there throughout the county whose individual lives and scores of memories spanned three-fourths and more of the century which it was proposed to commemorate. The list of such has been extended far beyond what the best posted of our local antiquarians anticipated it could be. The catalogue is enumerated by hundreds, instead of scores. And, moreover, when, after invitations had been very generally issued, intelligence was received from time to time of the death of some of those whose greater ages would have made their presence additionally dear, a saddening interest was given to the proceedings of the committee in this respect. Several of those who had received invitation circulars to attend the celebration, have in the interim settled their accounts with earth, and passed away to be known no more for ever. Nevertheless, the veteran array which was actually elicited, was by far the most imposing and fitting feature of the occasion. Here rallied the pioneers of the wilderness—the men who had opened these hill sides and vales to the glorious sunlight, who half a century since in active life had been each to the other neighbors and brothers, but whom the retirement of enfeebling age had estranged, met once more to indulge a fraternal grasp—who had followed lonely and long-bridle-paths to the mill, the church and the settlement along the inhabited and convenient roadway which now opened before them.

For "The celebration proper commenced with the arrival of the Newark delegation on Tuesday afternoon. In the early part of the day the streets had been generally cleared of rubbish, and we question if Newton ever manifested more pride than she did in view of this occasion. At noon-time flags were very generally unfurled from our hotels, public buildings, and elsewhere—an augury of the joyous event which was to follow. At 4 P. M., the Columbian Riflemen and Newark delegation were announced, and the streets were quickly thronged by those who were eager to bid them welcome. They were received amid the cheers of the assembled mass and a booming salute of cannon. Having paraded the principal streets, they were dispersed to their several quarters, and in renewed communings and festive joy, the sun was down on Tuesday.

"Bell chimes and cannon peals hailed the dawn of Wednesday. At a very early hour commenced the flow of a human tide which long before noon had swelled to the largest concourse ever assembled in our county. We estimate that there were not less than 8,000 persons in attendance, and the license which is usually indulged in such estimates, would easily raise it to 10 or 12,000. As soon after 11 A. M., as possible, the procession commenced forming. It was headed by the Newark Brass Band and Columbian Riflemen, after whom followed the several Committees, Clergy, Orators and Veterans. In the procession we counted thirty distinguished by the badge of the Newark delegation, and many others we know were at the time participating in pleasant greetings with their friends and relatives throughout the village and vicinity. A banner, bearing a fac-simile of the county seal, next appeared in the procession, followed by the Delaware Cornet Band of Port Jervis. The five lodges of Odd Fellows of the county were represented next in order by sixty of their members. The Sons of Temperance next appeared, numbering two hundred, equipped with the regalia, banner, staves, &c., peculiar to the Order. We only do justice when we give Wantage Division—one of the most distant of those in attendance, the credit of appearing with the largest delegation of the eight Divisions represented. The Temple of Honor of this village—an Order as yet in its incipient stages among us—appeared with nearly twenty of its members. A band of martial music next interspersed the moving mass, which was followed by the citizens of Sussex and Warren under their several township banners. The procession reached the speaking ground soon after 12 M. Judge WILLIAM P. ROBESON, of Warren was appointed President, and Hon. George Vail of Morris, and Joseph Greer, Esq., of Sussex, Vice-Presidents of the day."

Upon taking the Chair, Judge ROBESON rose and thus addressed the assembly:

"Fellow-citizens of Sussex and Warren—Ladies and Gentlemen: The unexpected honor of presiding over this vast concourse of people is received with feelings of profoundest gratitude. Although Warren county, in which I reside, was set off from Sussex nearly thirty years ago, my earliest recollections as well as the history of my forefathers are connected with old Sussex. Every place upon which my eye now rests, from the fertile valley to the towering mountain, is familiar and dear to me as the place of my nativity. Your county is a spot upon which God has showered the richest blessings of nature; such blessings as stir within our breasts the emotions of affection and gratefulness. We may be impressed with wonder and awe at the power of the Almighty as we behold the leaping cataract, but when we cast our glance over this favored land, its mountains, rising sublimely and rich with mineral wealth, its spreading plains and undulating hills, beautiful and fertile, and crowned with plenty, we recognize not only His power, but also His benevolence. This land I am proud to say, is the land of my birth. Yet in appearing again among you, I miss many of the citizens with whom I associated in early life. They are gone, but their sons are around me. The fact that you are assembled here to-day, imbued with patriotism and devotion to your native county, is a proof that you are worthy of your honored fathers. The duty you have placed upon me I will endeavor to perform to the best of my ability, and I beg you to accept my *thanks for the honor you have conferred.*"

A prayer was then offered by the Rev. Dr. Shafer. Solemn silence

reigned throughout the great multitude while the venerable man lifted up his voice to God in thanksgiving for the mercies of the past, and supplication for blessings in the future. The act of worship having been concluded, a choir of young ladies and gentlemen sang the following

ODE FOR THE SUSSEX CENTENNARY.

BY REV. NATHANIEL PETTIT.

Dark was the day when our forefathers settled
 On the wild banks of the bright Delaware,
 The terrors and toils of the forest were round them,
 But ne'er did their noble hearts yield to despair.
 Hail! to the beautiful land they have left us;
 Hail! to the mountain, the valley, the plain;
 Bless'd be the homes which protected our childhood,
 Where freedom and comfort and happiness reigns.
 Then, brothers, hand in hand,
 Think of the gallant band,
 Who won us our birthright in danger and toil;
 Deep in our inmost heart,
 Their deeds shall have a part,
 Long as their ashes shall hallow the soil.

Scarce had the war-whoop been hushed into silence,
 The musket hung up on the rude cabin wall,
 And peace and prosperity crowning their labors,
 When war again sounded its terrible call;
 Shoulder to shoulder they marched to the conflict,
 Till British invaders were driven afar;
 Brave were the men of Old Sussex before us,
 True to their country, in peace or in war.
 Then, brothers, hand in hand,
 Think of the gallant band,
 Defending our homes from the grasp of the foe;
 Deep in our inmost heart
 Their deeds shall have a part,
 While the mountains shall stand or the rivers shall flow.

Look now around at the myriads of blessings
 Heaven has poured on us with bountiful hand;
 Labor protected, has yielded its harvest,
 Plenty is crowning our beauteous land.
 Treasures of wealth are enclosed in the mountains,
 Health is pervading the bright balmy air;
 Peace and contentment are smiling around us,
 Blessings rest on thee, my country so fair.
 Then, brothers, hand in hand,
 Hail to our native land!

Dear is old Sussex, wherever we roam;
 God shelter thee from harm,
 With His almighty arm—
 Hail to Old Sussex! Old Sussex, our home!

Mr. EDSALL was then introduced, and commenced delivering the oration, which will be found on the 12th page. The attention of the audience was riveted upon the speaker for two hours, when he announced an intermission of fifteen minutes before delivering the remainder of his address. During the interval, the patriotic song "Our Flag is there," was sung by Mr. Ritter, of the Columbian Rifles. A stirring air from the Delaware Cornet Band succeeded, when the President proposed three cheers for "Old Sussex." Those who heard the loud huzzas which then arose from thousands of voices will never forget them. They were the outbursting of those pent-up feelings of enthusiasm which longed for an utterance; and the hills gave back the shout, and prolonged the echoes as if reluctant to let them die. When the acclamations had ceased, the speaker gave the latter part of his oration, which occupied in its delivery about an hour. At its conclusion, three cheers were again given by the multitude with the same heartiness as before. Previous to the retiring of the people, the Columbian Rifle Company marched before the stage, and through General Edwards received the thanks of our citizens for their attendance, and the assistance they had rendered upon this memorable occasion. A reply, brief, but chaste and beautiful, expressing the great satisfaction and gratification of the Company, was made by Lieutenant Craven. After the following benediction by the Rev. N. Pettit, the procession re-formed and returned to the village. "The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, be amongst you, and remain with you always."

Although Newton never held so great a number of people before, strict order prevailed, and not an accident occurred to mar the pleasure of the day. The sun went down amid the booming of cannon and the general congratulations of our citizens. Towards evening many of the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, who had participated in the festivities, returned to their homes, yet still the town was full; they seemed unwilling to lose what yet remained of the celebration.

"The exercises of the evening were commenced with a torch-light procession in much the same order as during the day. After proceeding through the principal streets of the village, the procession halted in front of the residence of W. S. Johnson, Esq., who in behalf of the ladies of Newton, presented a floral wreath to the Columbian Riflemen. He trusted, he said, that the Riflemen would ever display the spirit and skill which they had done in their target strife and evolutions of to-day, and with Virtue and Honor as their aim they could not fail to achieve a merited and honorable distinction. The wreath was received by J. J. Craven, who in behalf of the Company, assured those present that it would be cherished as a pleasant memento of the ladies of Sussex. He remarked in concluding, that the tasteful and beautiful wreath, of which he was the recipient, was only emblematic of the character and loveliness of its donors. A bouquet was presented to the Captain of the Riflemen, as also one to the Delaware Cornet Band, which was received by one of the Company with a neat speech of thanks for the gift." The procession then moved to the Presbyterian church, where the concluding exercises were held. The Rev. Thomas Davis offered an appropriate prayer, after which the choir sang the fol-

lowing

O D E.

BY GEORGE P. MORRIS, ESQ.

A rock in the wilderness welcomed our sires
 From bondage, far over the dark rolling sea ;
 On that holy altar they kindled the fires,
 Jehovah, which glow in our bosoms for Thee.

Thy blessings descended in sunshine and shower,
 Or rose from the soil that was sown by Thy hand ;
 The mountain and valley rejoiced in Thy power ;
 And heaven encircled and smiled on the land.

In church and cathedral we kneel in our prayer ;
 Their temple and chapel were valley and hill ;
 But God is the same in the isle or the air,
 And He is the Rock that we lean upon still.

After a piece of instrumental music by the Delaware Cornet Band, the Rev. J. F. Tuttle, the orator of the evening, delivered his address, which is printed in this pamphlet. It occupied an hour and a-half in its delivery, and was listened to throughout with the strictest attention by the auditory. His address was succeeded by "Hail Columbia" from the band, when a Doxology was read, and the crowded congregation rose, and with one heart and voice joined in the devotion to the tune of *Old Hundred*.

"Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,
 Praise Him, all creatures here below ;
 Praise Him above, ye heavenly host ;
 Praise Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

The audience then retired with the benediction of the speaker. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all, evermore."

It was not till after midnight that the festivities may be said to have concluded. The roar of cannon was heard, bonfires and torches illuminated the darkness, and strains of vocal and instrumental music filled the air. Every house in town, both public and private, was gladdened by social enjoyment. Friends from a distance interchanged their greetings. The patriarch of three-score-and-ten gazed proudly on his descendants, as they again surrounded his fireside, and heard him recount the labors and privations of his early life. Thus the evening wore away, and many a bosom glowed with generous emotions, and many a brother's hand felt the warm grasp of friendship and affection as the celebration closed. None of the thousands who joined in this centennial anniversary of Sussex county can expect ever to join in another. But its beneficial effects will not be lost. The information it has elicited will be perpetuated. The various occurrences of the day will live in our memory. And we trust, that our descendants of future generations will not be unmindful of the example of their fathers.

NEWTON, October 17th, 1853.

BENJAMIN B. EDSALL, Esq.

Dear Sir—The undersigned committee, appointed to superintend the publication of the proceedings of the late Sussex county Centennial Celebration, respectfully request a copy of the able and eloquent address delivered by you on that occasion.

Yours, &c.,

WHITFIELD S. JOHNSON,
NATHANIEL PETTIT,
HORACE WARNER,
THOMAS ANDERSON.

NEWTON, October 17th, 1853.

TO MESSRS. JOHNSON, PETTIT, WARNER and ANDERSON:

Gentlemen—I comply with your flattering request, promptly and cheerfully;

And remain,

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN B. EDSALL.

TO THE READER.

IN preparing the following address, I have been favored with items of information by Dr. Caspar Schaeffer, of Philadelphia, H. D. Maxwell, Esq., of Easton, Pa., William P. Robeson, Robert S. Kennedy, Caleb Swayze, and James Wilson, Esqrs., of Warren county, and David Ryerson, R. R. Morris, John H. Hall, Samuel H. Hunt, William H. Johnson, and John J. Cooper, Esqrs., of Sussex county. Whitfield S. Johnson, Esq., of Newton, has assisted me in collecting materials, and I am under obligations to Thomas Anderson, Esq., also of Newton, for kindly placing in my hands such of his grandfather's papers as had escaped destruction. As a general rule, every person of whom I requested information, or aid in procuring materials, has cheerfully accommodated me so far as was in his power. Samuel Lane, John S. Brodrick and Andrew Shiner, Esqrs., and Rev. Nathaniel Pettit, deserve mention for their courtesy and assistance.

In returning my grateful acknowledgments to the above named gentlemen, however, it is proper to say, that the main portion of the address is the fruit of my own researches. I am especially indebted to Thomas I. Ludlum, Esq., clerk of Sussex county, for giving me free access to the books and papers in his office, and also to Daniel S. Anderson, Esq., clerk of the Board of Chosen Freeholders, for a similar favor. I have derived considerable assistance from Eager's "History of Orange county," Barber & Howe's "Historical Collections of New Jersey," Rev. Peter Kanouse's "Historical Sermon," delivered at Beemersville in 1844, Smith's "History of New Jersey," Allison's and Neville's "Laws of New Jersey," and other works.

The time allotted for preparing the address was too short for one in my situation. Compelled to labor daily for a livelihood, I had my evenings only to devote to the subject; nor had I leisure to travel from place to place to visit aged men who possibly have treasured in their memories facts and incidents of interest and value. So much time was consumed in the collection and examination of materials, that little was left for composition, and every page, it is to be feared, bears in consequence the marks of undue haste. During the three months I have been engaged in this investigation, an average of two hours per day was all I could devote to it; and now, as I look back upon the piles of loose papers, the thousands of pages of musty records, and the half dozen printed volumes through which I waded, I am thankful that I found time to write out even so imperfect a sketch of Sussex county as is herewith presented to the reader. Probably what I have with my limited opportunities accomplished, may induce some abler man to devote for a few months his undivided attention to the subject, whereby a work much more elaborate, interesting and satisfactory can most certainly be produced.

BENJAMIN B. EDSALL.

NEWTON, October 17th, 1853.

CENTENNIAL ADDRESS.

BY BENJAMIN B. EDSELL.

INHABITANTS OF SUSSEX AND WARREN COUNTIES: In the spirit of filial affection and reverence you have come forward to pay the tribute of gratitude to the memory of your forefathers. You are the favored members of a happy and flourishing family, the possessors of a goodly inheritance; yet, unlike those upstart worldlings who are ashamed of the parents whose "homely toil" enriched them, *you* feel it to be a privilege and a gratification to look back and contemplate the small beginnings of that flood of fortune upon whose topmost wave you are now floating. Although the hands which laid the foundations of your prosperity, and the stout hearts, which dared, for your sakes, the perils of pioneer life, have long reposed nerveless and pulseless in the grave, the blood which vitalized *their* action, now courses in *your* veins, and imposes upon you the duty, not only of honoring their memory, but of vindicating their good names by your own deportment and conduct.

The early annals of Sussex county occupy but a brief space on the historic page. This, however, is to be accounted for without detracting in any degree from the character or merit of your ancestors. Blood and rapine—civil and ecclesiastical feuds—intrigue and usurpation—kingly duplicity and aggression—are the prominent topics of history; while the deprivations and hardships endured in the subjugation of the wilderness, the frequent encounters with beasts of prey, the daily exposure to the vengeance of the treacherous savage, and the numerous other dangers which beset the path of the pioneer, are matters which receive only a passing notice. Nevertheless, these latter transactions have formed the basis of all national superstructures, ever since the first couple were sent forth from Eden to peopel the whole earth with their seed. The men who, from time immemorial have gone out to subdue the forests and reclaim the waste places, have displayed greater courage than any of the titled warriors, who, at the head of panoplied hosts, have desolated the nations of the earth, and been deified in marble. If the deeds of the first settlers of Sussex have not been preserved in the pages of the annalist, they are engraven in more enduring characters upon the hills and vales, and plains and promontories of our county. The "continuous woods," which originally shadowed the fat soil, yielded ac by acre, to their sturdy blows—the cabin of hewn logs replaced the fir rude hut—orchards were planted, and the virgin soil displayed its strength in its rich product of waving grain. The streams which had flowed for centuries in the gloom of the o'er-arching trees, were opened at intervals to the light of day—the click of the busy mill in due time was heard upon the banks, and the verdure which skirted their margins was cropped by low

herds. The unerring rifle drove the beasts of prey from the clearings, and in their places flocks of sheep, whose fleeces were wrought by fair hands into garments, disported upon the hill sides. And, finally, to complete the picture,

"Where prowled the wolf, and where the hunter roved,
Faith raised her altars to the God she loved."

One hundred and fifty years ago, the territory comprising the counties of Sussex and Warren was uninhabited by civilized men, except a small portion in the present township of Pahaquarry. The settlers in this secluded nook were Hollanders, who had penetrated the country in search of minerals. Following the course of the Hudson from New Amsterdam northwardly, they landed and entered the wilderness at or near Esopus, now called Kingston, in Ulster county, New York, and, exploring the Mamakating valley, they discovered a mine of lead about fifty miles from the point of their debarkation. Encouraged by this success, they continued their explorations, and about fifty miles further another mine, probably of copper, was found "on the Delaware river, where the mountain nearly approaches the lower point of Pahaquarry Flat."* This was within the limits of our territory;

* The following, from Hazard's Register, throws some light on the early settlements on the Delaware, in this section of country. It is extracted from the letters written by Samuel Preston, Esq., and dated Stockport, June 6th and 14th, 1828.

MEENESINK, MINE HOLES, &c.—In 1787, the writer went on his first surveying tour into Northampton county; he was deputy under John Lukens, surveyor-general, and received from him by way of instructions, the following narrative respecting the settlement of Meenesink, on the Delaware, above the Kittany and Blue Mountain:

That the settlement was formed a long time before it was known to the Government in Philadelphia. That when Government was informed of the settlement, they passed a law in 1729, that any such purchases of the Indians should be void, and the purchasers indicted for "forcible entry and detainer," according to the law of England. That in 1780 they appointed an agent to go and investigate the facts; that the agent so appointed was the famous surveyor, Nicholas Scull; that he, James Lukens, was then N. Scull's apprentice to carry chain and learn surveying. That he accompanied N. Scull. As they both understood and could talk Indian, they hired Indian guides, and had a fatiguing journey, there being no white inhabitants in the upper part of Bucks or Northampton county; that they had a very great difficulty to lead their horses through the *Water Gap* to Meenesink Flats, which were all settled with *Hollanders*; with several only could they be understood in Indian. At the venerable Samuel Dupuis's they found great hospitality and plenty of the necessaries of life. J. Lukens said that the first thing that struck his admiration was a *grove of apple trees of size far beyond any near Philadelphia*. That as N. Scull and himself examined the banks, they were fully of the opinion that all those flats had at some very former age been a deep lake before the river broke through the mountain, and that the best interpretation they could make of Meenesink was, *the water is gone*. That S. Dupuis told them when the rivers were frozen he had a good road to Esopus (now Kingston,) from the *mine holes*, on the mine road some hundred miles. That he took his wheat and cider there for salt and necessaries, and did not appear to have any knowledge or idea where the river ran, Philadelphia market, or being in the government of Pennsylvania.

They were of opinion, that the first settlements of the Hollanders in Meenesink were many years older than William Penn's charter, and as S. Dupuis had treated them so well, they concluded to make a survey of his claim in order to befriend him if necessary. When they began to survey, the Indians gathered around; an old Indian laid his hand on N. Scull's shoulder, and said, "*Put up iron string, and go home*;" then they quit and returned.

I had it in charge from John Lukins to learn more particulars respecting the mine road to Esopus, &c. I found Nicholas Dupuis, Esq., (son of Samuel,) living in a spacious stone house in great plenty and affluence. The old mine holes were a few miles above, on the *Jersey side of the river*, by the lower point of Pahaquarry Flat; that the Meenesink settlement extended forty miles or more on both sides of the river. That he had well known the mine road to Esopus, and used, before he opened the boat channel through Foul Rift, to drive on it several times every winter with loads of wheat and cider; as also did his neighbors to purchase their salt and necessaries in Esopus, having then no other market or knowledge where the river ran to. That

and there are cogent reasons for fixing the date of the advent of these Hollanders as early as 1650, fourteen years before the Duke of York became the patentee of New Jersey, and twenty years before William Penn secured a patent for the flourishing commonwealth which bears his name. The first great need of these enterprising men was a road to afford an outlet for their ores, and this they appear to have lost no time in supplying, although the distance from Pahaquarry to Esopus was about one hundred miles. This road was substantially built, and was in use some time before the English took possession of New Amsterdam, now known as the city of New York. It is still a public thoroughfare, and bids fair to remain for ages an enduring monument of the energy and perseverance of these hardy pioneers. It was the first road of any considerable length made in North America; it was built without government aid; though its course ran through a howling wilderness, and its construction must have been attended with immense difficulties and innumerable dangers, it owes its existence solely to the enterprise of a few men who were stimulated to push it to completion by the hope of acquiring personal emolument from their mineral discoveries. This hope, however, was nipped in the bud. The conquest of the New Netherlands by the British, in 1664, put an end to the enterprise of these adven-

after a navigable channel was opened through Foul Rift, they generally took to boating, and most of the settlement turned their trade down stream, the mine road became less and less traveled.

This interview with the amiable Nicholas Dupuis, Esq., was in June, 1787. He then appeared about sixty years of age. I interrogated as to the particulars of what he knew as to when and by whom the mine road was made, what was the ore they dug and hauled on it, what was the date, and from whence and how came the first settlers of Meenesink in such great numbers as to take up all the flats on both sides of the river for forty miles.

He could only give traditional accounts of what he had heard from older people, without date, in substance as follows:

"That in some former age there came a company of miners from Holland, supposed from the great labor expended in making that road, about one hundred miles long, that they were very rich, or great people in working the two mines, one on the Delaware where the mountain nearly approaches the lower point of Pahaquarry Flat, the other at the north foot of the same mountain, near half-way between the Delaware and Esopus. He ever understood that abundance of ore had been hauled on that road, but never could learn whether lead or silver. That the first settlers came from Holland to seek a place of quiet, being persecuted for their religion. I believe they were *Arminians*. They followed the mine road to the large flats on the Delaware; that smooth cleared land, and abundance of large apple trees suited their views; that they '*bona fide*' bought the improvements of the native Indians, most of whom then removed to Susquehanna; that with such as remained there was peace and friendship until 1755."

I then went to view the Pahaquarry mine holes. There appeared to have been a great abundance of labor done there at some former time, but the mouths of these holes were caved full and overgrown with bushes. I concluded to myself if there ever had been a rich mine under that mountain, it must be there yet in close confinement. The other old men I conversed with, gave their traditions similar to Nicholas Dupuis, and they all appeared to be grandsons of the first settlers, and generally very illiterate as to dates and any thing relating to chronology.

In the summer of 1789, I began to build on this place, there came two venerable gentlemen on a surveying expedition. They were the late Gen. James Clinton, the father of the late De Witt Clinton, and Christopher Tappan, Esq., clerk and recorder of Ulster county. For many years before they had both been surveyors under Gen. Clinton's father when he was surveyor-general. In order to learn some history from gentlemen of their general knowledge, I accompanied them in the woods. They both well knew the mine holes, mine road, &c., and as there was no kind of documents or records thereof, united in the opinion that it was a work transacted while the State of New York belonged to the government of Holland, that it fell to the English in 1664, and that the change of government stopped the mining business, and that the road must have been made many years before so much digging could have been done. That it undoubtedly must have been the first good road of that extent ever made in any part of the United States."

turous miners, as it did to many other schemes of aggrandizement devised by the Hollanders. The main body of these men are believed to have returned to their native land; yet a few unquestionably remained, who settled in the vicinity of their abandoned mines. In this county we may class the Dupues, Ryersons, and probably the Westbrooks and Schoonmakers as among the descendants of those ancient immigrants.

Here then we have the point at which the first settlement in Sussex county was made, clearly established. Here log cabins were built and orchards planted when the site of Philadelphia was a wilderness. The Swedes in West Jersey, and the Dutch and Norwegian settlers in Bergen, antedate the pioneers of Pahaquarry but a very few years. The light of civilization had shone but for a brief period upon the eastern and southwestern borders of New Jersey, ere it penetrated our northern wilds. Feeble at first, it grew brighter as time advanced. News of the fertility of the Delaware Flats was doubtless carried to Esopus, whence it was taken to Communipaw, to the island of Manhattan, and even unto Bushwick and the vales of Mespata. Esopus was a favorite place of resort from 1660 to 1685, because of the great strength and richness of its soil; but immigrants, who came in there from around the bays and inlets of New York, Bergen and Long Island, and who found the best locations occupied, turned their thoughts to those bottom lands on the Delaware whereof many-tongued rumor had frequently spoken; and, led by necessity and curiosity, they followed the Mamakating, until at last the blue outlines of the Pohaquolin mountain greeted their vision, and the cabins of three or four hermit-like settlers were found reposing beneath its shadow. Here they met a hospitable welcome, and here they made their locations, enlarging by their ingress the social circle, and affording strength to the infant colony.

A great impulse to emigration from Europe was given by the efforts of William Penn and other American landed proprietors, towards the close of the seventeenth century. Hundreds also, who would have preferred to pass their days in the lands of their fathers, were induced to cross the ocean to escape persecution on account of their religious faith. Many of the French Protestants who fled from France to Holland and other European countries, in 1685, when Louis XIV. exposed them to Papal vengeance by revoking the edict of Nantz, found their way to America, and quite a number settled at the mouth of the Wallkill, in Ulster county, New York. Thence they spread inland, and the Huguenot names of Gumaer, Cuddeback, Dekay, Dildine, Bevier, &c., appear upon the early records of the Minisink region, in connection with the Van Campens, Van Aukens, Coles, Deckers, Winfields, Westfalls, Courtrights, Titsworths, Nearposses, Davises, Van Ettens, Westbrooks, &c.

What was originally known as the Minisink* country, now forms a por-

* This name is a corruption of the Indian word *Minsies*. The tradition of the Indians in this vicinity at the early settlement of the county was that their nation lived at Kittatinny (now called Blue Mountains,) in Warren county, New Jersey, and means "main or chief town;" that at an early period there was a difficulty or disagreement of some kind in the nation, and the discontented portion removed to the other or north side of the mountain, upon the low lands along the Delaware. The tradition also was, that long ago and before the Delaware river broke through the mountain at the Water Gap, these lands, for thirty or forty miles along it, were covered by a lake, but became drained by the breaking down of that part of the dam which confined it. When the discontented retired from the nation, they settled upon the lands from which the waters had retired, and by others were called the "*Minsies*," because they lived upon

tion of the three States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York. It comprehended the soil upon both banks of the Delaware river, from the Water Gap* to the Lackawaxon, and probably in common parlance was often used to indicate a still greater extent of territory. That the early settlers on the Delaware managed to live peacefully with the Indians is apparent from the fact, that no difficulties with the red men are of record before the year 1755, or have been handed down by tradition. They appear to have purchased their lands of the Indians, and to have ensured the safety and quiet of their little community by dealing equitably with the aborigines, and by according to them those privileges of hunting and fishing which were essential to their existence. Thus isolated from the busy world, they cleared and cultivated the soil, and gradually augmented in numerical strength, by the addition of new settlers who came in between the years 1680 and 1720, until both banks of the Delaware for many miles above the Water Gap, as well as the borders of the Mahackamack, or Navarsink, exhibited here and there the abodes of civilized men. The houses were not scattered, however, promiscuously. Although upon good terms with the Indians, there was no security that the bonds of amity might not at some unexpected moment be rudely broken. Hence, it was the custom for three or four neighbors to place their log dwellings as nearly together as practicable, so that all might be within hail, if either required assistance. Loop-holes for musketry were also provided, and not only the males but females were taught the use of fire-arms. These arts and precautions were necessary on another account. Wolves, bears and panthers abounded in our wilds, and hunger occasionally drove them to the doors of the settlers. If the males were absent, the wife or daughter would be at hand, and the musket be made to do swift execution, with equally unerring aim, upon the ravenous intruder.

All the territory comprised in old Sussex was originally treated by our Provincial authorities as belonging to West Jersey. By the Act of 1709, which defined the boundaries of the several counties in the Province, our soil was comprehended within the limits of Burlington. When Hunterdon was erected into a county, in 1713, our section formed a part of it; and in 1738, when Morris county was created, our hills and valleys shared the new designation. Between the years 1738 and 1753, something like municipal regulation was extended over the scattered population of this portion of the State. Townships were formed, with metes and bounds very imperfectly defined, yet answering in some sort the wants of the people. These townships were Wallpack, New Town, Hardwick and Greenwich—one of which (Hardwick) was erected by Royal Patent. Wallpack and New Town, at this

the land from which the water had gone. The name in the first instance was descriptive of the land from which "the water is gone," and afterwards applied to the Indians who lived upon it.—*Eager's Hist. of Orange Co.*, pp. 407, 408.

* The scenery in the vicinity of the Water Gap is grand and picturesque. "On the Jersey side of the Gap is a place where the ledge comes boldly down to the road side, called the 'Indian Ladder,' which a few years since, before the road was constructed, came down perpendicularly to the water's edge, and prevented the inhabitants from having a free communication with other parts of the county. In olden times the Indians had there a kind of ladder made of an upright tree; afterward a rope ladder was made by the whites; but it was a dangerous place to get over, being thirty or forty feet in height, and only surmountable by foot passengers. On the summit of the Blue (or Pohaquolin) Mountain are two beautiful lakes, probably on land 1,000 feet above the level of the Delaware. Near one of them is a chalybeate spring, called the 'Paint Spring,' which deposits a ferruginous ochre."—*Hist. Collections*, p. 505.

period, comprised all the territory which now constitutes the present county of Sussex, except so much as is comprehended in Stillwater and Green; which two latter precincts, with all the present county of Warren, were covered by Hardwick and Greenwich. The settlements at this time were principally in Wallpack and Greenwich, and at certain points on the Wallkill, Papakating, Paulinskill and Pequest. In 1738, the population of the whole Province of New Jersey was only 47,869—of which amount Sussex did not probably contribute more than 500 or 600. There was not at this time a school nor a meeting-house within our limits. Only one grist mill was then in operation, so far as I can learn, which was located somewhere near the confluence of the Flatbrook and the Delaware. Neither this mill, nor any which was erected for twenty-five years thereafter, performed any other operation than that of grinding; the bolting being done by hand, for which purpose sieves were an indispensable domestic utensil. There were hardly any roads laid out, especially in the country south-east of the Blue Mountains. Wagons were unknown, save in the Minisink region, and there they were mainly constructed of wood: the wheels were without iron tire, but were composed of thick felloes, held together by wooden pins. Sleds were in general use, rudely constructed, and shod with wood. Flax, tow and rawhide were the materials of which harness was made. The plough and the harrow differed but little from those in use forty or fifty years ago, and answered the purposes of cultivation very well. A blade, some twenty inches in length, fastened to a wooden handle, and somewhat resembling a hemp-hook, was the instrument wherewith wheat and rye were cut. The reaper also carried with him a small iron hook to gather up the sheaves as he toiled his weary way through the burdened fields. Flails were in use, Point, another on the Flatbrook, and a third at the mouth of the Paulinskill, and horses were occasionally employed to tread out the grain; while the operation of cleaning was facilitated by fans composed of willow rods. Scythes, cradles and fanning mills came into use simultaneously about the year 1750. The first saw-mills erected were located, one at Carpenter's Point. In the log cabins of the pioneers of this county," (says the Rev. Mr. Kanouse,*) "there was no furniture to dazzle without profit. Oiled paper might serve for window-glass, a pail of water for a mirror, a pine-knot for a candle, and the wheel and the loom made the music of the family. The father supplied the flax and the wool; and the fair hands of our mothers and their daughters furnished the thread, the cloth, and the ready-made garment. They were rich in their own resources. Their wants were few and simple. The trencher and the wooden bowl were the china, and pewter was the silver-ware of the family, with milk and water for their tea, a burnt crust for their coffee, and brown bread for their cake." Groceries and merchandize figured small in the list of family necessities. Instead of silks, satins, cashmeres, gems, pearls and cosmetics, to adorn and beautify the fair sex, their forms were clad in the flaxen tissues and linsey woolseys fabricated by their own industry. "Of course, with such a generation, the physician had but little to do. If privation and toil were their companions, health was the reward."

* Historical Sermon, delivered at Beemerville, 1844.

The settlers in Minisink were the vanguard of our pioneers, and very properly took the lead in providing for the public ministration of the gospel. Living for a considerable period without the advantages of the preached word, they yet retained Christian feelings and principles. Some of them had endured persecution for conscience sake, and had thus given proof of the strength and vitality of their professions. They eagerly looked forward, from the beginning of their settlement, to the time when public worship could be instituted, and, as soon as possible, perfected arrangements for the enjoyment of that invaluable privilege. Having no one among them properly qualified to expound the Scriptures, they selected a young man named John Casparis Fryenmouth, who had devoted himself to some extent to theological studies; sent him to Holland, paid for his education, and upon his return in 1742, had four buildings provided for him to preach in; one on the Mahackemack, or Navarsink river, near where Port Jervis now stands; another called the Minisink church, located about a mile from the present Dutch Reformed church, in Montague; a third called the Wallpack church, in the bend of the river; and the fourth in Smithfield, Pennsylvania. To these churches, whose congregations embraced nearly all the inhabitants of Minisink, Mr. Fryenmouth divided his time equally, giving one-fourth thereof to each. In this way he labored faithfully, until the Indians invaded that region in 1755. For nine years after this savage irruption, the churches had no stated supply. Rev. Thomas Romeyn, of Bushwick, Long Island, removed thither in 1764, and served seven years, when another interregnum occurred, lasting, with occasional exceptions, until 1780, when the Rev. Elias Van Benschooten commenced his labors in that extensive parish.

It is not within the scope of the plan proposed in my address upon this occasion, to go into a review of the establishment and progress of Christian churches in Sussex. Fortunately, that interesting branch of our local history is committed to abler hands. My object in alluding to the above congregations, is simply to direct attention to the fact, that at this early period, the population of so much of the Minisink region as was within the bounds of our territory was equal to all the rest; for while one of the four churches was in New York, and another in Pennsylvania, *two* were in New Jersey. This fact would seem to indicate very satisfactorily, that the New Jersey portion of Minisink was first settled, as its population was the most numerous; and it gives force also to the presumption that the ancient miners of Pahaquarry, who remained in the vicinity after the downfall of the New Netherlands, very generally pitched their tents upon the Jersey side of the Delaware. It is well established, that in the year 1697 when the Schuyler and Swartwout patents for lands in the Minisink country were derived by purchase from the Indians, and by grants from the Province of New York, there were settlements south of the Navarsink, and so on down the Delaware; and unless those settlements were made by the miners, or by very early accessions, by way of Esopus, their origin is unaccountable.

I am of opinion that the early settlers upon the lands southeast of the Minisink mountain, and west of the Wallkill, in the section now known as Wantage, were regarded as inhabitants of Minisink. Their names are identical with those of the Delaware and Navarsink borderers, and they unquestionably by kindred and association, constituted one community. One of *the earliest settlements east of the Blue mountains was in the Papakating*

valley, and was made by Messrs. Colt, Price* and Gustin, who were originally from New England. Many of this class of emigrants, in their progress westward from the land of the Puritans, had first settled upon Long Island, but hoping to better their condition, they removed to Orange county, New York, and Bergen, Somerset, Hunterdon, and other counties in New Jersey. About the year 1700, a great many of the settlers upon Long Island removed to the places indicated, because the land was cheaper and better than that which they tilled upon the Island. Hunterdon and Orange were the favorite counties of this description of immigrants; in these they established homes, but their own cosmopolitan disposition was transmitted to their children, who in their turn, plunged also in the wilderness, and entering Sussex at her northern and southern extremes, explored the various rivulets to their sources, and upon the lands drained alike by the tributaries of the Hudson and the Delaware, kin met with kin in the heart of our county, and their blood, separated for from fifty to seventy years, again commingled. Of this class I venture to mention the Greens, Hunts, Blackwells, Blanes, Browns, Brokaws, Howells, Hopkins, Beegles, Townsends, Stileses, Ketchams, Collards, Mills, Havens, Trudells, Moores, Hills, Dentons, Cases, Knapps, Youngs, Smiths, Coes, Johnsons, Pettits, Wallings, &c., &c.

Next to Wallpack, a part of the township of Greenwich is beyond question the earliest point of settlement. Just after the commencement of the eighteenth century, land was patented and settled near Phillipsburg, by Messrs. Lane and Merrill, both of whom were Irishmen. In 1735, three brothers named Green settled in that part of Greenwich now known as Oxford township, who were soon followed by the McKees, McMurtries, McCrackens, Axforde, Robesons, Shippens, Andersons, Kennedys, Stewarts, Loders, Hulls, Brands, Bowlbys, Swayzes, Schackletons, Scotts, Armstrongs, all of whom were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, with the exception of Robeson, the Greens, and possibly one or two others. Here, as a consequence of this correspondence of religious faith, the first Presbyterian church in the county was erected, bearing date in the year 1744, only two years after the formation of the Minisink congregations. Rev. James Campbell was the first minister who officiated for this people. He was followed by the celebrated missionary, David Brainerd, whose labors among the Indians called him frequently in the vicinity. In fact, Brainerd lived for some time at the Irish Settlement, in Pennsylvania, now known as Lower Mount Bethel, about five miles from Belvidere, and the site of the cabin occupied by himself and his interpreter, is still shown to the traveler. The first furnace for manufacturing iron in Sussex county, was erected by Jonathan Robeson, in

* Robert Price, one of the first settlers of Frankford, when a small boy, was taken prisoner by the Indians at one of the massacres in the Eastern States. He and his mother were marched off together, and, she being somewhat conversant with the language of the savages, soon learned from their conversation and gestures, that she herself was to be despatched, and immediately communicated the intelligence to her son. She told him that he must not cry when they killed her, or they would kill him too. She marched but a few rods farther before she was killed, and the boy was eventually adopted by one of the squaws as her child, she having lost one a few days previous. He lived with the Indians until he was over twenty-one years old, and was then rescued by his friends. It was a long time before he became thoroughly reconciled to civilized society, and he sometimes expressed a desire to return to the Indians; but the feeling gradually wore away. Several years after his release, he removed to this county. — *Hist. Collections of New Jersey*, pp. 465, 466.

the then town of Greenwich. It was commenced in 1741, but iron was not run until the 9th of March, 1743. He called this "Oxford furnace," in compliment to Andrew Robeson, his father, who had been sent to England and educated in Oxford University. From this furnace the town of Oxford, which was formed twelve years afterwards, took its name. Jonathan Robeson was one of the first judges of Sussex county. His father and grandfather both wore the ermine before him in Pennsylvania; while his son, grandson, and great-grandson, each in his turn have occupied seats on the judicial bench. William P. Robeson, of Warren county, is the sixth judge in regular descent from his ancestor, Andrew Robeson, who came to America with William Penn, and was a member of Governor Markham's Privy Council. In this country, where the accident of birth confers no special right to stations of honor, and where ability and honesty are, or ought to be, the only passports to public distinction, this remarkable succession of office in one family affords a rare example of hereditary merit, and is, so far as I know, without a parallel in our judicial annals.

The "Quaker Settlement" was peopled, as its name imports, by members of the Society of Friends, who came from Maiden's Creek, (now Attleborough,) Pennsylvania, and from Crosswicks, New Jersey, about the years 1735 or '40. They were the Willsons, Lundys, &c., and must be set down as among the very first settlers of ancient Hardwick. In the beginning, these people were compelled to go to Kingwood, in Hunterdon county, to have their grain ground; a trip which was usually performed on horseback, and occupied when the weather was favorable, and the intervening streams not too much swollen, about two days. The first frame house erected in this region, is still standing, and is occupied by Samuel Cook. To raise its timbers, so few were the settlers, that help had to be procured from Hunterdon county. It is still a sound, substantial building, although it has endured the blasts of at least one hundred and ten winters. The deed for the ground upon which the old Quaker meeting-house stands, was given by Richard Penn, grandson of William Penn, and bears date in the year 1752. It may not be out of place to state here, that a few miles from this locality, the first meeting-house in the county of Sussex of the Methodist Society, was erected in the year 1810, upon land donated by John Cummins. The Methodists were among the last to raise a house of worship in our county, yet they are now probably the most numerous of any denomination of Christians within our limits.

In that part of ancient Newton, now known as Vernon* township, there were some early settlements, principally consisting of those who had first tried their fortune in Orange county. My information from this quarter is very meagre. One Joseph Perry, who had prepared for the erection of a

* Near the south part of Vernon commences the marshy tract, known as "the drowned lands of the Walkill." The valley of the Walkill is narrow until it crosses into the State of New York, where the marsh extends five miles in width, through which the river flows, with a scarcely perceptible current. No successful effort has been made to wholly drain this tract. Wherever it has been done, it discloses a soil of rich vegetable mould. The following is an extract from a published article on the mineral character of this region, by the late Hon. Samuel Fowler, who was a man of science, and spoke from actual observation:

"Perhaps in no quarter of the globe is there so much found to interest the mineralogist as in the white crystalline calcareous valley, commencing at Mount Adam and Eve, in the county of Orange, and State of New York, about three miles from the line

frame house there, about the year 1740, could not raise the timbers without procuring help from New Windsor. Colonel De Kay settled in New York upon the edge of this township in 1711; some of his lands, which he then held under a New York patent, now lie this side of the boundary line. The McCamly's, Campbells, Edsalls, Winans, Hynards, Simonsons, &c., did not come in until just before the Revolution, at which period a considerable amount of population had spread not only over Vernon, but throughout Hardyston. Joseph Sharp, the father, I believe, of the late venerable Joseph Sharp, of Vernon, who had obtained a proprietary right to a large body of land stretching from Deckertown to the sources of the Walkill, came from Salem county a few years before the Revolution, and erected a furnace and a forge about one mile south of Hamburg, which were known for some years as the "Sharpsborough Iron Works;" this was the second furnace erected in Sussex county. Sharp lost a great deal by this enterprise; and partly from the annoyance which he met with from the sheriff of the county, who, under certain circumstances, is well known to be a most unwelcome visitor, he abandoned the works. A few years after a couple of men from Trenton, named Potts, erected another furnace in this neighborhood, but they soon "followed in the footsteps of their illustrious predecessor;" the sheriff had a particular attachment for their property, and they were finally compelled to let that very officious personage have his own way. Thenceforth there was an end to the iron manufacture in any considerable quantities in that quarter, until the late Dr. Samuel Fowler and John O. Ford, Esq. commenced the business, and by superior activity and energy, derived handsome profits from their well directed enterprise. Among the earliest settlers was Robert Ogden, who removed from Elizabethtown in 1765 or '66. He was a good man and a true patriot. He was long one of the judges of our courts, and a leading citizen of our county. He sent forth three sons to fight in the War of Independence, one of whom, Col. Aaron Ogden, commanded that honored regiment which bore the name of the Life Guards of the Immortal Washington.

From the year 1740 to the close of the Revolution, there was, in addition to the sources of increase which have heretofore been mentioned, a considerable emigration from Germany. Among the first of this class of persons, were John Peter Bernhardt and Caspar Shafer, his son-in-law. They had purchased lands where Stillwater village is now situated, of persons in Philadelphia, and in the year 1742, by way of the Delaware, and the valley of the Paulinskill, they journeyed to their destination, and took possession of the tracts indicated by their title deeds. They were followed in a few years by the Wintermutes, the Snovers, Swartswelders, Staleys, Merkels, Schmucks, Snooks, Mains, Couses, and a large number of other Germans who principally settled in the valley of the Paulinskill, although a portion branched off in other directions. Mr. Bernhardt lived only a few years after his arrival;

of the State of New Jersey; and continuing thence through Vernon, Hamburg, Franklin, Sterling, Sparta and Byram, a distance of about twenty-five miles in the county of Sussex, New Jersey. This limestone is highly crystalline, containing no organic remains, and is the great imbedding matrix of all the curious and interesting minerals found in this valley. When burned, it produces lime of a superior quality. Some varieties, particularly the granular, furnish a beautiful marble. It is often white, with a slight tinge of yellow, resembling the Parian marble, from the island of Paros; at other times clouded black, sometimes veined black, and at other times arborescent."

he died in 1748, and was the first person buried in the cemetery of the old German Church. It must not be understood, however, by this statement, that there was a church erected there at that period. The ground only for such an edifice, and for burial purposes, had been set apart, but the building itself was not constructed until 1771. Mr. Shafer, in the beginning of his experience of life in the backwoods, found himself under the necessity of crossing the Pohoqualin mountain to get his grain ground; which was performed by following an Indian trail, and leading a horse upon whose back the sack of rye or wheat was borne. This was an inconvenience that he was not disposed to endure, and he determined to construct a mill upon his own property. This project he carried into effect; but his mill, to tell the truth, was a perfect curiosity. It was peculiarly of domestic manufacture. He constructed it in the following manner: first, throwing a low dam made of cobble stones, filled in with gravel, across the kill, to create a small water power; he next drove piles into the ground to sustain the superstructure; upon these he erected a little frame or log mill-house, in which he placed one small run of stones, with water-wheel and gearing in a corresponding style of simplicity. This diminutive concern was capable of grinding not more than from three to five bushels of grain per day; yet it answered the demands of the sparsely settled country for the time, and was resorted to from far and near. In a few years he erected a better mill, and commenced shipping flour to Philadelphia. He loaded a flat-boat at his mill, which floated with the current down the Paulinskill to the Delaware, and thence to its destination. The Paulinskill was thus proved to be navigable; but it was much more valuable as a mill stream, and soon became so obstructed by dams, that Mr. Shafer was compelled to relinquish the use of his boat. Shad were caught in this stream originally, but the same causes which shut off the passage of boats, operated to exclude the periodical ascension of this migratory species of fish. Mr. Shafer was the first man in this region who opened a business intercourse with Elizabethtown; he heard from the Indians in his vicinity, that there was a large place far away to the southeast, which they called "Lispatone," and he determined to ascertain the truth of this assertion; he traveled over mountains and through bogs and forests, and after a rough journey of some fifty miles, he arrived at the veritable "Old Borough." He opened a traffic in a moderate way at this time, and thus laid the foundation of that profitable intercourse between the southeastern towns and cities and Northern Jersey, which has augmented from that time to the present, and has almost entirely excluded Philadelphia from participation in the trade of this section of the State.

Peter Decker built the first house* in Deckertown in the year 1734. He

* This house stood near the site of the present residence of Jonathan Whitaker, Esq. A short time after Decker, two other individuals of the Navarsink settlement also crossed the Blue mountain in pursuit of tillable land; these were named Winfield and Cortracht. After making diligent search throughout the Wantage valley, they could find as they supposed but little land fit for cultivation; exhibiting an instance of the Hollander's error in judging of the quality of land in a country different from his own. It seemed that these people, on coming to this country, thought no land worth cultivation but level flats. Winfield selected a spot of about eleven acres on the farm now owned by Thomas I. Ludlum, Esq.; this he supposed might be worth clearing for the purpose of growing grain. Cortracht found five acres nearer the mountain which he thought might also pay the labor of cultivation. From this time immigrations continued to be made into this valley, and additions to the infant settlement.—*Hist Coll.* p 484.

was I believe, the son of John Decker, of Minisink, and was among the earliest of the pioneers who crossed the mountain, and founded the township of Wantage. He was a man of enterprise and energy, and served the county for many years as a magistrate.

(Robert Paterson was the first settler* of Belvidere; and Samuel Hackett, an early explorer of the Musconetcong, founded the flourishing borough which bears his name. Henry Hairlocker, a Hollander, about the year 1750, settled near the present site of Newton.) His cabin was built where Maj. John R. Pettit's dwelling now stands. There was then not another cabin visible for miles around. The village of Newton was unthought of, and probably would never have been founded, but for the act of 1761, establishing the county seat on the plantation occupied by Hairlocker. This made a market for building lots, and houses for public accommodation were put up without delay. In 1769, Newton contained an Episcopalian congregation, the first formed in the county; about the same time a German congregation was gathered, and a Presbyterian congregation was soon brought together. That "long, low, rakish" looking building which is driven end-foremost into the gentle acclivity of our public green, and which is used as a Hall of Records for the county, is not coeval with the existence of the village. It is more weather-beaten than ancient: though it looks as if it were almost crushed by the weight of ages, its years number bare fifty-one. It is a product of the nineteenth century; and we point it out to strangers as the finest specimen of the cow-stable order of architecture to be found in the Union. The man by whose genius it was designed is not known—that is, no one wants to know him; the universal desire is, that his name, like that of the architect of the temple of Diana at Ephesus, may rest for ever in oblivion.

The Greens, Armstrongs, Kennedys, Pettits, Van Horns, Linns, Hazens, Dyers, Cooks, and Shaws, settled the region around the present village of Johnsonsburgh. Here Dr. Samuel Kennedy, the first practising physician we have any record of, fixed his location. His practice extended so far over the county, that professional visits of twenty or thirty miles were common events in his career. He was an able practitioner, and prepared a great number of students for the profession. Drs. Linn, Everitt, and several other physicians of the last generation, derived their first knowledge of the healing art from this Esculapian veteran of old Sussex. Dr. K. died at an advanced age, in the year 1804. I may as well remark here as elsewhere, that the practice of medicine has never been a very lucrative business in this county. The air of our mountains is peculiarly favorable to health and

* Paterson settled on the site of Belvidere, about the year 1755. "Shortly after, a block house was erected, on the north side of the Pequest, some thirty or forty yards east of the present toll-house of the Belvidere Delaware bridge. Some time previous to the Revolutionary War, a battle was fought on the Pennsylvania side of the river, between a band of Indians, who came from the north, and the Delawares, residing in the neighborhood, aided by the whites, in which the latter were defeated and driven to the Jersey side." The village was named "Belvidere," by Maj. Robert Hoops, because of the beauty of its situation. "In 1824, Belvidere was chosen as the county seat for the newly-formed county of Warren, and the court house and offices were, during the year 1825, built on land granted for the purpose by Garret D. Wall, Esq. The commissioners assigned by the Legislature, to locate the county buildings, were Nathaniel Saxton, Esq., of Hunterdon, Col. McCourry, of Morris, and Thomas Gordon, of Trenton."—*Hist. Collections*, p. 503.

longevity. The multitude here assembled afford living proofs of the salubrity of our geographical position. Here may be seen at a glance, in any direction, fine specimens of physical vigor in all their gradations, from chubby infancy to robust old age. The average of human life in this county must greatly exceed that attained in cities, from the fact that deaths in infancy are far less frequent here than there. The proportion of old men to the whole population is also very considerable. Seventy, eighty, and ninety years are not uncommon ages among our citizens. Yet one hundred years, it must be confessed, is very seldom reached. The greatest age ever attained here was by Matthew Williams, who died in the township of Frankford, on the 3d of January, 1814, in his one hundred and twenty-fourth year. He was a native of Wales, born in 1690; he served in the British navy and army for thirty years, and was in numerous battles; he was with Wolfe at the taking of Quebec; and after that event he retired from the service, and took up his residence in Sussex. Here he married, when a little over seventy years of age, but lost his wife after she had borne him two sons. Upon the breaking out of the Revolution, he enlisted in the Continental army, although eighty-six years of age, and fought through the whole war with the vigor of a man of forty. He survived the Peace of 1788, more than thirty years, and died a pensioner of the United States.*

Peter B. Shafer, the son of Caspar, constructed a large mill near the present village of Paulina, about the close of the Revolutionary War. Col. Mark Thompson subsequently built a mill higher up the stream, which formed the nucleus of the village of Marksboro'.† Col. Thompson was a meritorious officer in the war of the Revolution, and served two terms in Congress under the administration of President Washington.

The first fulling mill in the county was erected about the year 1775, by Peter Wintermute, half a mile below Stillwater village, the water power being obtained from the "big spring" at that place. This, in its day, served a most useful purpose, and accommodated the inhabitants scattered over a large extent of country. The first forge erected for the purpose of making refined iron from pig metal, was in 1790, on the Paulinskill, below Fall mills. Judge Armstrong was the proprietor, but the business proving unprofitable, he abandoned it.

In 1769, the Moravian Brethren from Bethlehem, Pa., purchased 1500 acres of land of Samuel Green, for the sum of £563, or about \$1500, and

* As a counterpart to this instance of longevity, it may not be out of place to state, that Sussex county is the place of nativity of the fattest person ever known. Mrs. Catharine Schooley, who is now exhibiting herself in the principal cities of the Union, was born in Greenwich township, Sussex county, in the year 1816. She weighs seven hundred and sixty-four pounds, about one hundred pounds more than the far-famed Daniel Lambert, of England. Her arm is three feet two inches in circumference, and her waist is nine feet six inches around it. Her parents, Anthony and Catherine Learch, were Germans. Her mother died when she was but a few days old, and her father says he "*raised her mit der spoon*." At the age of nineteen she married William Schooley, also of Greenwich, and soon after removed to Ohio.

† Near this place is the "*White Pond*," a great natural curiosity. Its sides and bottom are covered with small white shells, which are cast up from some subterranean deposit by an agency unknown. These shells contain a large percentage of phosphate of lime, and are used for fertilizing lands. Various theories have been formed to account for this phenomenon, but none that I have heard is satisfactory. I shall not therefore, recapitulate any speculations which have been offered upon the subject, contenting myself with a simple statement of the fact.

founded the village of Hope. This Samuel Green was a deputy-surveyor for the West Jersey proprietors, and owned several large tracts of land in ancient Hardwick and Greenwich. The Moravians remained at Hope some thirty-five years, when they commenced selling their property, and returned to Bethlehem. Sampson Howell, who settled at the foot of the Jenny Jump mountain, near Hope, a year or two before the Moravians arrived, erected a saw-mill, and supplied the lumber for the construction of the very substantial buildings erected by the United Brethren. The present "Union Hotel" at Hope, was built for a meeting-house, in 1780, and is still a firm structure. Sampson Howell has a large number of descendants, who cherish his memory, and who preserve many anecdotes illustrative of his energy and activity. He was a man of great versatility. He drove his farm and saw-mill, preached the Gospel, &c., and yet found time to kill more deer and trap a greater number of wild turkeys than any hunter in that region.

The village of Hamburg* possesses considerable age, though I cannot trace any mention of it prior to the year 1770. The first meeting house of the Baptists, in this county, was erected there in 1777. Sparta also dates its foundation, prior to the Revolutionary War; but I am unable to give any particulars of its early history. In this place the First Presbyterian Church of Hardyston was located, and was the first to avail itself of the Act of 1786, providing for the incorporation of religious societies.

There are a few other villages and hamlets in Sussex and Warren which I cannot spare time to notice. Most of them, however, have been built within the memory of men of middle age, and special reference to their origin would be neither novel nor instructive.

In order to satisfy myself as to the European nations to which Sussex is chiefly indebted for her original population, I have compiled a list of all the names of persons to be found upon the public records for the first six years of the existence of our county. This list contains 402 names, of which those indicating an English and Scotch origin are the most numerous; those pertaining to Holland and Germany follow next, and the residue are derived from France, Ireland, Wales and Norway.

As early as the year 1715, when there were but two or three points of our territory occupied by the cabins of white men, surveyors penetrated the heart of our county, and established the butts and bounds of many tracts of land, which the sagacious proprietors of West Jersey foresaw at that early day would ultimately be valuable. Among others, William Penn located three tracts of land containing 10,000 or 12,000 acres, in and around this immediate vicinity. In this way the best locations were generally entered before any immigrants had arrived in the central portions of our county, and they had to cultivate the soil when they did come as tenants or trespassers. When Morris county was set off in 1738, Northern Jersey began to attract attention. It was then ascertained, that, although this section

* In the year 1770, a few Baptist families from New England settled where Hamburg now is, and built the first houses there. Their names were Marsh, Hart and Southworth. They selected one of their number, Mr. Marsh, to be their preacher, and thus laid the foundation of the first Baptist Church in the county. In the year 1777, Rev. Nicholas Cox, from Philadelphia, became the preacher in this Baptist Church.

had at a remote period evidently been a favorite residence of the Indians,* most of them had departed, and occupied hunting grounds farther to the north. Little danger was, therefore, to be apprehended by those who settled in the central portions of our territory from the red men; for even if they should become hostile, the line of settlements on the Delaware from the Musconetcong to the Navarsink, would be most apt to bear the brunt. Hence immigrants flowed in, and by the year 1750, they had become so numerous, and had experienced so much inconvenience from being compelled to go to Morristown to attend to public business, that they very generally petitioned the Provincial Assembly to "divide the county," and allow them "the liberty of building a court-house and gaol."

The request was deemed a reasonable one, and on the 8th day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1753, the Assembly passed "An Act for erecting the upper part of Morris county, in New Jersey, into a separate county, to be called the *county of Sussex*, and for building a court-house and gaol in each." The designation which our county bears, was bestowed by Jonathan Belcher, Esq., then governor of the Province, in compliment to the Duke of Newcastle, whose family seat was in the county of Sussex, in England. By this Act, Sussex was allowed all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other counties, except the choice of representatives in the General Assembly. It was provided, however, that "all her citizens, legally qualified," might at the proper time, "appear at Trenton, or elsewhere in the county of Hunterdon, as occasion should be, and there vote in conjunction with the Frecholders of Morris and Hunterdon for two persons to serve as members of the said Assembly." As Trenton was very distant from Sussex, and the road thither a most forbidding one, it is reasonable to presume that this privilege of voting was not often exercised. In fact, our county, in this way, was practically deprived of direct representation in the Assembly; and so she continued for a period of nineteen years. By an act, passed May 10th, 1768, she was authorized to choose two representatives for herself. This was confirmed by the King in Council, on the 9th of December, 1770, the confirmation proclaimed in New Jersey, in 1771; and on the 17th of August, 1772, Thomas Van Horne and Nathaniel Pettit were elected the first representatives of the county of Sussex. Pettit served until the Royal authority was suspended in this State by the adoption of a Republican Constitution on the 2d of July, 1776. Van Horne died in 1775, and Joseph Barton was elected to fill the vacancy. The new Constitution cut him off also. Under the new order of affairs, Sussex was allowed three members of Assembly and one member of the Legislative Council. John Cleve Symmes was the first Councillor, and Casper Shafer,† Abia Brown and

* There were in early times several Indian settlements in Sussex, viz.: one in Greenwich township, near Phillipsburg; another upon the present site of Belvidere; a third near Greenville, in Green township, on the farm now owned by Charles Kelsey; a fourth near the village of Lafayette, in Lafayette township; a fifth on the north-west side of the Big (Swartwout's) Pond; a sixth in Pabaquarry, near the Water Gap and others, at two or three points which are not now recollected. The Minisink region was originally peopled with Indians, of whom the earlier settlers procured the lands, the red men removing further north as they parted with their possessions. These points of Indian settlement were well chosen, as they were each and all very favorable for hunting, trapping and fishing.

† Mr. Shafer was a member of the Legislature several years. He was a man of words, but clear-headed and energetic, and wielded much influence in the H.

Thomas Peterson the first Assemblymen, who represented Sussex in the new government founded under and by virtue of the authority of the people.

On the 20th day of November, 1753, the first Court of Justice held in the county of Sussex was opened in the house of Jonathan Pettit, in Hardwick township. His Majesty's Ordinance,* constituting the Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions was read; as also were the commissions of Jonathan Robeson, Abraham Van Campen, John Anderson, Jonathan Pettit, and Thomas Woolverton, Esqrs., Judges of the Pleas. These men were likewise empowered to act as Justices of the Peace, in connection with Richard Gardiner, Obadiah Ayres, Japhet Byram, and Petrus Decker. Jeremiah Condry Russell was appointed Clerk, and Joseph Brackenridge was duly qualified to serve as High Sheriff of the county. Joseph Perry, of New Town, was sworn as Constable, and the organization of the Court was completed with the exception of the attendance of Grand and Petit Jurors, who necessarily had not been summoned for lack of officers duly empowered to select and notify them. Nothing was done at this term except to grant tavern licenses, and affix the rates at which inn-keepers should dispose of their liquors, provender, &c. The persons thus licensed were—Thomas Woolverton, Joseph Carpenter, Jonathan Pettit, Isaac Bell, Abraham Carinan, Henry Hairlocker, and Casper Shafer. The business of tavern-keeping at this time, and for at least fifty years afterward, was a stepping-stone to public distinction, as well as a source of pecuniary profit. Nearly all the early Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, Chosen Freeholders, &c., were inn-keepers. The number of hostleries continually augmented, in consequence of the repute and influence which they gained for their proprietors; but what was little to the credit of the fraternity was the fact that

When matters appeared to him to be going wrong, his usual mode of expressing dissent, as I am informed, was to rise in his seat, and with considerable vehemence, and in a strongly-marked German accent, exclaim, "Tas is nicht recht! Tas is nicht recht!" and then he would briefly give his views and explanations; whereby the attention of members would be arrested, and not unfrequently the current of the proceedings be changed.

* The following is a verbatim copy of the Ordinance:

"George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., To all whom these presents may in anywise concern, Sendeth Greeting: Whereas by a late Act of our Governour, Council and General Assembly of our Province of New Jersey, Made in the Twenty-sixth year of our Reign, the upper Parts of our Count^y of Morris, was separated from said County of Morris and erected into a distinct County and called the County of *Sussex*; and Whereas, the several times for the holding our Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Inferiour Court of Common Pleas for our s^d County of *Sussex* are not as yet fixed, Wherefore for Ascertaining the same, *Now Know Ye* that of our especial Grace and meer motion, we have Constituted, Ordained & Appointed, and by these presents, Do Constitute, Ordain & Appoint, that our Courts of General Sessions of the Peace and Inferiour Court of Common Pleas, for our said County of *Sussex* be held on the days and times following, to wit: One of the times for holding said Courts for our said County to begin on the third Tuesday in November, another on the third Tuesday in February, another on the fourth Tuesday in May, and the other on the fourth Tuesday in August, in every year, Each of which Courts shall continue and be held for any time not exceeding four days in Each Term. We, also, Will, Ordain & Appoint that our Several Courts for our said County of *Sussex*, shall be held and kept at the Dwelling House of Jonathan Pettit, Esqr. at the place now called Hardwick in said County of *Sussex*, until there shall be a new Court House built & Erected in & for said County, pursuant to the Act of our Governour, Council & General Assembly made in the Twenty-sixth year of our Reign, and no longer, and when said Court House for our said County of *Sussex* shall be built & erected, then We Will, Ordain & Appoint that our s^d several Courts of General Sessions of the Peace and Inferiour Court of Common Pleas shall hereafter be held at the times herein before appointed at s^d Court House to

some of them, in order to increase their profits, would use diminutive measures in selling liquors, oats, &c. The Court felt itself scandalized by this mode of doing business, and by way of repressing it, took the precaution, for several successive years, to add to the annual Rate Bills, which it made out, an official notification, in these words: "Liquors and Oats, when called for, are to be delivered *in full measures*." Great inducements to wholesale lodging were also held out in those days, the charges being, for one man in a bed, 5d. ; for two in a bed, 3d. each ; and for three in a bed, 2d. each. Hence, when three men chose to bundle together instead of sleeping singly, they saved 3d. each by the operation—just enough to buy a gill of New England rum for their respective stimulation, provided they had a partiality for that most pungent and odoriferous of all alcoholic liquids.

Upon the formation of the county, one of the first and most pressing needs to be supplied was the erection of a gaol. Accordingly, on the 21st day of March, 1754, the Board of Justices and Freeholders (the first body of the kind ever convened within the limits of Sussex,) met at the dwelling-house of Samuel Green, in Hardwick, (near where the village of Johnsonburg now stands,) and appointed a meeting of all qualified persons in the county to be held at the house of said Green, on the 16th, 17th and 18th days of April, 1754, "to elect a place to build a Gaol and Court House." This meeting of the citizens was duly held—the gaol was ordered to be built near Jonathan Pettit's tavern, and the county to bear the expense. Jonathan Pettit and Richard Lundy, Jr., superintended the erection, &c., of the building ; and Samuel Green, upon whose premises it was located, gave an obligation in the penalty of £500 to secure the county of Sussex "the uninterrupted liberty and use of the ground where the gaol is built, by

be built as af^d in and for s^d County of Sussex. We also Will, Give & Grant that the Justices of the Peace of our s^d County of Sussex, and the Judges of our s^d Inferiour Court of Common Pleas for our s^d County of Sussex do Exercise, use & have all such Powers and Jurisdiccions in the s^d several Courts at the times herein Appointed as by Law they may & ought to Exercise, use and hold. In Testimony whereof we have Caused the Great Seal of our s^d Province of New Jersey to be hereunto Affixed. Witness our trusty and well Beloved Jonathan Belcher, Esqr. our Captain General & Commander in Chief of our said Province of New Jersey and Territories thereon depending in America, Vice Admiral & Chancellor in the same, &c., at our Borough of Elizabeth, the thirteenth day of October in the Twenty-seventh year of our Reign.

1753.

"Read."

"Let the Great Seal of the Province of New Jersey be affixed to the within Commission.

"To the Secretary of State }
of New Jersey, }

J. BELCHER."

The following is the form of the "Oath," which all our early civil and military officers were required to take and subscribe:

"I, A. B., do sincerely Profess and Swear, That I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty King George the Second. *So help me God.*

"I, A. B., do swear, That I from my Heart, abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable Doctrine and Position, that Princes, excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within the Realm of Great Britain. *So help me God.*

"I, A. B., do heartily and sincerely Acknowledge, Profess, Testify and Declare in my Conscience before God and the World, That our Sovereign Lord King George the Second is lawful and rightful King of Great Britain, and all other His Majesty's Dominions and Countries thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely

Jonathan Pettit's, while the court is continued there; and, when removed from thence, the liberty of taking away the iron in said gaol, whenever the Board of Justices and Freholders shall see fit to do so." In the course of a few weeks the building was completed, and the Board of Freholders met in Pahaquarry, to examine the expenditures for materials and labor. The cost was ascertained to be £32 2s. 10d. The gaol, however, was not considered to be properly finished, and the Board directed Samuel Willson, Esq., and Richard Lundy, Jr., to agree with workmen to complete it "as they should deem needful." This additional work swelled the total cost of the building to the sum of £41 3s. 1d.; about £30 whereof were expended for iron and blacksmithing, leaving for logs, boards, labor, &c., only about £11. It may well be imagined that a building thus cheaply constructed, was not very well adapted to the safe-keeping of prisoners; and so it proved in the sequel. Escapes from it were frequent; notwithstanding that it was guarded from time to time by a watchman who was paid the sum of 5s. for every twenty-four hours he was on duty. During the nine years it was used as a place of public detention, the county became responsible, on account of the flight of imprisoned debtors, to the amount of nearly £600, or fourteen times the sum expended in erecting it. The different Sheriffs protested to the Board and the Court, at every available opportunity, "against the insufficiency of the Goal for the safe keeping of prisoners," and in this way exonerated themselves from personal and official responsibility.

declare, That I do believe in my Conscience that the Person pretended to be Prince of Wales during the Life of the late King James and since his Decease, pretending to be and taking upon himself the Stile and Title of King of England by the Name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the Name of James the Eighth, or the Stile and Title of King of Great Britain, hath not any Right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of Great Britain or any other the Dominions thereunto belonging. And I do renounce, refuse and abjure any Allegiance or Obedience to him. And I do Swear, That I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majesty King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my Power against all Traitorous Conspiracies which I shall know to be against Him or any of Them. And I do faithfully Promise to the utmost of my Power, to Support, Maintain, and Defend the Succession of the Crown against him the said James and all other Persons whatsoever. Which Succession by an Act entitled An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Dutchess, Dowager of Hanover, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely Acknowledge and Swear according to the express Words by me spoken, and according to the plain and Common Sense Understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever. And I do make this Recognition, Acknowledgement, Abjuration, Renunciation and Promise, heartily, willingly and truly, upon the Faith of a Christian. *So help me God.*

"I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely in the Presence of God, Profess, Testify and Declare, That I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is not any Transubstantiation of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person whatsoever. And that the Invocation or Adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint and the Sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are Superstitious and Idolatrous. And I do solemnly in the Presence of God, Profess, Testify and Declare, That I do make this Declaration, and every Part thereof, in the plain and ordinary Sense of the Words read unto me as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any Evasion, Equivocation or mental Reservation whatsoever, and without any Dispensation already granted me for that Purpose by the Pope or any other Authorized Person whatsoever, or without any Hope of any such Dispensation from any Person or Authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or Man or absolved of this Declaration, or any Part thereof, although the Pope or any other Person or Persons or Power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning. *So help me God.*"

The names of the Freeholders, who, in connection with the Justices, directed the construction of the log gaol, were Derrick Westbrook, Cornelius Westbrook, Joseph Hull, Joseph Willets, Richard Lundy, Robert Willson, William Henerie and James Anderson. The taxes collected during the years 1754 and 1755, furnished the means of defraying the expense. The sum of £100 was assessed upon the county each year, three-fifths of which were applied to paying bounties for the destruction of wolves. It is a notable fact, and one also which shows how plentiful those ferocious beasts were in the county, that in these two years, about £120 were paid for wolf scalps, or nearly three times as much as it cost to erect the gaol. Thomas Wolverton, the first county Collector, received for his services an average of £2 11s. per annum; so that this office was no sinecure, whatever it may be now. This circumstance shows very strikingly the change that the lapse of a hundred years has occasioned. The office was quite as onerous then as now; yet at the present day the fees of the Collector exceed in amount the whole sum assessed upon the county in the early years of its existence.

Immediately after the county was formed, great anxiety was manifested to have the limits of the old townships defined, and new ones set off. To such a pitch did this impatience reach, that the Court, in the term of February, 1754, had to interfere, and authoritatively direct, "That the townships of Wallpack, Greenwich, Hardwick and New Town, shall remain and continue in the county of Sussex, as they formerly were in the county of Morris, until further orders." In the term of May, 1754, Benjamin Smyth, William Schooley, John Depue, Johannes Cornelius Westbrook, Joseph Hull, Richard Gardiner, and Richard Lundy, Jr., who were appointed to divide the county into precincts, made a report, which was adopted, and which added three precincts to the original townships, viz.: Wantage was formed from a part of Newtown, and Oxford and Mansfield Woodhouse from parts of Greenwich; Hardwick and Wallpack retaining their original limits. The townships thus defined, continued unaltered a few years, when the increase of population led to further divisions. In 1759, Montague was erected from Wallpack, by Royal Patent. In 1762, another slice was taken from Wallpack, and christened Sandyston, and in the same year Hardyston was formed from the northern portion of Newtown. Knowlton was set off from Oxford in 1764; Independence from Hardwick in 1782; Vernon from Hardyston in 1792; Frankford from Newton in 1797; and Byram also from Newton in 1798. These divisions multiplied the four original townships to fifteen; and there was no further alteration of the municipal landmarks until the county of Warren was set off from Sussex in the year 1824.

The Courts were held at the house of Jonathan Pettit, near the log gaol, in Hardwick, from November, 1753, to February, 1756, when they were opened in the house of Thomas Woolverton, in Newtown. Woolverton lived on the borders of the Pequest, where Huntsville now is. A forge was erected there soon after the removal of the Courts, which obtained its ore from the present Andover mine; a furnace was also built and put in operation at the mine, and the iron manufactured there was held in high reputation as the best for general purposes that could be procured at home or abroad; another forge, which used the same ore, was built on the Musconetcong, near the present site of Waterloo. The laws of the British Parliament designed to suppress American manufactures, bore hard upon the

Andover furnace, as they did upon all similar enterprises, yet it withstood all opposition, and not until the year 1795, or thereabout, when the wood for coaling in the vicinity of the works had mostly been cut off, was the business of smelting ore finally relinquished. Thenceforth the rich deposits in this mine remained undisturbed until Messrs. Cooper & Hewitt, of Trenton, purchased the property a few years ago, and again made its ores commercially available. During the Revolutionary War, the Provincial Congress had it in contemplation to draw from this mine a portion of the munitions necessary for military operations, but nothing decisive appears to have been accomplished in the premises.

During the brief time the Courts were held in Hardwick, the business mainly related to the collection of debts; some cases of assault, and a few offences against chastity, were reached and punished by indictment, but no crime of special magnitude required to be judicially investigated. The Grand Jurors appeared to be vigilant—probably a little too much so; indeed, some of their presentments would be regarded, at the present day, as trifling and frivolous. In searching out small offences, upon one occasion they pounced upon a luckless wight, named Richard Duddy, and formally presented him “for damning his Grace, the Duke of Cumberland!” This certainly was manifesting an excess of loyalty. The Duke had never set his foot upon American soil; he was merely a leading general in the British army, who was defeated at Fontenoy by the French, but who had balanced that misfortune by defeating the forces of the Pretender, in Scotland, on the field of Culloden, where he infamously signalized himself by inflicting the most savage cruelties upon the poor Scots whom he had vanquished. Duddy was doubtless a Scotchman, and the ebullition was entirely natural. The Duke will certainly have escaped well, if, after “life’s fitful fever,” he experienced no other damning, in righteous expiation of his crimes at Culloden, than that denounced against him by the irascible Richard Duddy.

Upon the assembling of the Court at Woolverton’s, in February, 1756, the Grand Jurors appeared, but were not sworn, “by reason,” as the record says, “of troublesome times with the Indians.” The term of May, 1756, found the condition of affairs in our county equally alarming, and the Grand Inquest was again dispensed with. The “troublesome times” here spoken of, were times of massacre and pillage. The people were filled with consternation. They saw at a glance that the Indians with whom they had long maintained friendly intercourse, had suddenly become their enemies, and no wonder that a deep sense of danger pervaded the minds of the scattered settlers of the county. When they beheld the tribes of Indians, known as the Chihohockies, or Delawares, the Wapings and the Minsies, who constituted a part of the Six Nations, and who, as such, had ever been friendly with the inhabitants of the British Colonies—who had waged relentless war against the French for nearly seventy years—who had never forgiven the French general, Denonville, for brutally massacring, in 1687, their brethren, the Senecas—who had not forgotten Frontenac, who, six years afterwards, entered the valley of the Mohawk, and moistened the soil with the blood of slaughtered red men—and who had, moreover, in 1746, at Albany, by all the Chiefs of the Six Nations renewed the bond of friendship with their old English allies, and repeated their vows of eternal enmity against the Gallic executioners of their brethren; when our citizens beheld

these very Indians pouring from the North into the valley of the Minisink, murdering and plundering the inhabitants, and burning and destroying their property, it certainly was an event peculiarly alarming; for perfidy was evidently at the bottom of the bloody foray, and imparted a deeper hue to its atrocity.

The settlements on our northern borders were the most exposed, and preparations for their defence were made without delay. The militia of the county, or so many of them as were not occupied in conveying their families to places of safety, gathered on the frontier. Judge Van Campen repaired to Elizabethtown by express, to acquaint the Provincial authorities with the calamities which had befallen, or were impending over the inhabitants of Sussex. The Legislature promptly passed an act authorizing the erection of four block houses, at suitable distances from each other, near the river Delaware, in the county of Susséx, under the direction of John Stevens and John Johnston, Esqrs., ("who had voluntarily offered themselves for that service gratis;") also ordering the enlistment of two hundred and fifty men to garrison said block houses, and providing for the issue of bills of credit to the amount of £10,000, to pay the expense of protecting the frontier. Jonathan Hampton was appointed commissioner of supplies for the troops, and John Wetherill, commissary and paymaster. These troops were to serve one month, and until their places could be supplied by others. To encourage enlistments, exemption from arrest upon civil process, for debts of less than £15, as well as the protection of property from execution, was the immunity guaranteed to recruits; the wages of the soldiers, too, was increased beyond the ordinary average, although, to us, the per diem allowed them appears very small at the best, viz.: the commander-in-chief of the block houses, was to be paid 6s. per day; each captain, 4s.; lieutenant, 3s.; sergeant, corporal and drummer, 2s. 6d. each; and privates 2s. per man. This act was passed on the 27th of December, 1755, at which time, according to its preamble, the Indian atrocities were confined to that portion of Pennsylvania "which bordered upon the upper limits of New Jersey," (probably in the valley of the Laxawaxon,) but it was apprehended that they would carry their cruelties and devastations into Sussex county. This apprehension proved too true. Our frontiers were, in their turn, invaded; and by the month of February, 1756, as I have heretofore stated, so great had become the alarm in the county, that the administration of justice was obstructed.

No time was lost in erecting the block houses, and procuring men to garrison them; the preparations for defence, in fine, were such as to give assurance that the interior of the county was in all probability safe from any formidable savage irruption, whatever might be the imminence of such a calamity upon the frontiers; and in the autumn of 1756, the public business of the county was resumed and transacted without hindrance or molestation, save that an occasional tragedy or sanguinary skirmish on the borders of the Delaware or Navarsink, during the eighteen months wherein the conflict fitfully continued to rage, would cast a momentary gloom upon the brows of our citizens, or inspire them with a burning desire to retaliate upon the aggressors. The ranks of the troops on the frontier were in consequence augmented by a succession of recruits, who thirsted to revenge

themselves upon the savage bands, which had ruthlessly severed the ties of kindred, or carried friends and relations into captivity.

One of the most audacious acts in the whole series of predatory aggressions, was the incursion of a party of Indians into the township of Hardwick, the very heart of the county, where they captured a boy named Thomas Hunt, and a negro belonging to Richard Hunt; and on their retreat, by way of the Big Pond, they surprised and made prisoners a man named Swartwout, and two of his children, a son and a daughter, having first shot his wife who stood in the door when they reached his house. Swartwout lived on the tract now occupied by the village of New Paterson. Near him there had been an Indian settlement, which was abandoned but a short time previous to the occurrences I am now relating. The band which assailed him were composed of only five Indians, all of whom had been his neighbors; they knew him well, as they also did the white settlers generally in that region. When they went to the house of Richard Hunt, (an elder brother of the boy Thomas,) they found young Hunt and the negro alone. The latter were enjoying themselves as youngsters are wont to do when their seniors are absent; the negro was fiddling and dancing, and the boy a gratified spectator of Cuffy's accomplishments, as well in sawing the strings as in rattling off a double shuffle. In the midst of their hilarity, the Indians were discovered close at the door and just about to enter. Quick as thought, the boys sprang to the door, closed and bolted it. The intruders bore this rebuff apparently with philosophy, and soon disappeared, but returned in about an hour. Their footprints indicated that they had reconnoitred in their absence, the house of a Mr. Dildine, where Richard Hunt happened to be at the time; but they evidently dared not make an attack at that place. They returned to Hunt's house, and made a movement to set it on fire, as the surest method of making the boys open the door. This stratagem succeeded; the boys yielded, and were forced to accompany the savages. At Swartwout's house, after murdering his wife, they attempted to enter, but he seized his rifle and held them in check. Finally he agreed to surrender, if they would spare his life and the lives of his son and daughter. They consented to this proposition; but they either violated their pledge themselves, or permitted, or what is worse, *procured*, a white man to take his life, for Swartwout was undoubtedly murdered. His two children were taken to an Indian town on the Susquehanna, situated somewhere near the present borough of Wilkesbarre; while Hunt and the negro were conveyed to Canada. Hunt was sold by his captors to a French military officer, and accompanied him as his servant. His mother, anxious for his deliverance if alive, attended the General Conference at Easton, in October, 1758, where a Treaty was made with the Six Nations, and finding an Indian there who knew her son, she gave him £60 to procure his freedom, and return him to his friends. This proved to be money wasted. Hunt was soon after liberated under that provision of the Treaty of Easton which made a restoration of prisoners obligatory upon the Indians, and reached home in 1759, after a servitude of three years and nine months.

Swartwout's children must have been freed in about a year after their capture, for we find his son in New Jersey in 1757, active in causing the arrest of a white man named Benjamin Springer, whom he charged with

being the murderer of his father. Springer was apprehended, and confined in the jail of Essex county. An act was passed by the Provincial Assembly of New Jersey, on the 22d of October, 1757, authorizing his trial to take place in the county of Morris, "because the Indian disturbances in Sussex rendered it difficult, if not dangerous, to hold a Court of Oyer and Terminer there." The Act also ordered that the expense of the prosecution should be borne by the Province. "Pursuant to this Act, (says Allison,*) Springer, on the positive testimony of Swartwout's son, and the contradictions in the prisoner's own story, after a full and fair hearing, at which an eminent councillor attended in his behalf, was convicted, to the satisfaction of most all present, and was executed in Morris. He declared himself innocent of the crime; and on the return of Thomas Hunt and a negro who had been taken a few miles distant by the same party that captivated Swartwout's family, (with which party it was proved at the trial Springer was, and that he killed Swartwout,) it appearing by their declarations, that they did not see Springer until they got to the Indian town, some inclined to believe that he might not have been guilty. Thus the question seemed obscured. It is, however, agreed (continues Allison) that his trial was deliberate and impartial, and many still think that his life was forfeited to the laws of his country."

Springer was a Virginian; he declared on the scaffold that Thomas Hunt knew him to be innocent; and his parents, after Hunt's return, came on to this county, to learn if their son was really guilty. Hunt assured them, as he did every one else to the end of his days, that he considered him innocent. He did not see Springer until he arrived at the Susquehanna Flats, where he found him, like himself, as he supposed and believed, a prisoner. Neither did he see Swartwout murdered; but he was confident that the deed was done about one mile north-west from his own house; he and the negro at the time were guarded by two Indians, the others being busy not a great way off despatching Swartwout; he heard his cries—heard him beg for his life, and promise to go with them peaceably, if they would spare him. He was an athletic, resolute man; and the Indians were afraid of him, and therefore, as Hunt always declared, they murdered him; they tied him to a tree, tomahawked him, and left his body to the wolves and birds of prey.

Altogether, this incursion of Indians into our county, was, in its results, one of the most remarkable occurrences of those "troublesome times;" and in attempting to describe it, I have discarded the many exaggerations long current in reference to the matter, and stated nothing but what may be relied upon as authentic. Whether Springer was guilty or innocent, always has been a subject of dispute, and so it must forever remain. For my own part, I must say, that Hunt's statement casts a strong shade of suspicion upon the "positive testimony" of Swartwout's son; yet it does not overthrow it. As for Springer, if he did really kill Swartwout, let us hope, in charity, that he was compelled to do the deed by his savage captors or associates. One thing which bore hard upon Springer was the fact that when apprehended, his hair was dyed black. Young Swartwout, in the outse'

* Allison Laws, p. 215.

described the murderer of his father as a man whose hair was red, and the prisoner when first taken, did not answer the description in this particular. This discrepancy would have proved fatal to the boy's credibility, had not the lapse of a few weeks revealed the fact, and afforded "confirmation strong as proof of Holy Writ" that the prisoner had at a recent period so disguised himself as to render his personation of an Indian a very easy matter.

It is to be regretted that few of the names of those citizens of Sussex who distinguished themselves during the Indian war of 1755 have been preserved. Col. Abraham Van Campen, of Wallpack, was actively engaged in defending the frontier. Capt. James Anderson, of Greenwich, was also in the service. It is possible that Anderson was the leader in a skirmish which took place at Westfall's block-house, or Fort, on the Navarsink. It seems that a party of Indians, at one time in the course of the war, lay in ambush, watching an opportunity to take the Fort. "They sent two of their party to espy it; who discovered only two women there. While the two spies returned to inform the party, a small company of soldiers, marching from New Jersey to Esopus, accidentally came along, and stopped at the Fort. They were scarcely seated before the Indians rushed in, and when they unexpectedly found a number of men in the house, they immediately fired their guns, and fell on the men with tomahawks. The soldiers fled to the chamber and other parts of the building, from which they shot at the Indians, and after a desperate fight, compelled them to retire without taking the Fort, though several of the soldiers were killed."* To silence the cavil that these could not have been Jersey soldiers, because they were on their way to Esopus, it is only necessary to state that the militia of this Province

* A little boy, a son of Mr. Westfall, was taken prisoner during the war, near this fort, and remained among the Indians till after the war of the Revolution. When informed that by the death of his father he had become heir to a part of his estate, he came to the town with an interpreter to get it. He was taken to the premises where his father had lived, and where he had been taken prisoner, and he said he had no recollection of any object there, except a little pond of water near the house where he was captured. His mother was then living, and being satisfied that it was her son, endeavored by personal appeals and every maternal and filial consideration to persuade him to stay and abide with her; but he would not. His residence with the Indians had steeled his heart and feelings against all those considerations which actuate the conduct of civilized men; he sold his estate, and joyfully returned to Indian life, among his friends in the wilderness.

While the war lasted, the Indians continued their aggressions during the open winters, in one of which they attacked the upper fort on the Navarsink, the inmates of which at the time were principally soldiers. During the assault, the house took fire, from the burning of the barn, as was supposed, and the heat soon became so intense that the occupants were obliged to flee or perish. In their flight they were all killed but one. A woman—the wife of the Captain of the garrison—and a black woman went into the cellar and remained there until the fire began to fall through the floor, when the white woman ran out and round the house, and the Indians followed and killed her. The black woman got out unperceived by them, and secreted herself on the bank of the river till dark, when by a circuitous route through the fields and woods she gained the fort at Gumaer's, the only survivor to tell the tale of Indian horror. The Captain was not at home at the time, but when he came and learned the history of the sad catastrophe, grieved much at the loss of his wife.

The day the fort was attacked, two women had been there, and while they remained the soldiers were quite merry, and told the black woman, who was very fleshy, among other things, that they soon expected an attack, and that as she was so fat as not to be able to run, she must not expect to escape, &c. The race was not to the swift, in this instance.—*Eager's Hist. of Orange Co.*, pp. 381, 382.

were authorized by law to march into contiguous Provinces, if deemed advisable, but not to remain absent from our soil more than twenty days upon any one excursion.

On the 3d of June, 1757, the General Assembly of New Jersey, after reciting that "the savage Indian enemy have lately perpetrated cruel murders on the frontiers of this Colony; and the inhabitants there have, by their petitions, set forth their distresses, and supplicated a number of troops for their Assistance and Protection," enacted, that one hundred and twenty men be immediately raised, with the proper number of officers; that Jonathan Hampton be appointed Paymaster and Victualler for the Company, and that he provide and allow unto each officer and soldier the following provisions every week, viz: 7 lbs. of Bread, 7 lbs. of Beef, or in lieu thereof, 4 lbs. of Pork, 6 ounces of Butter, three pints of Peas, and half a pound of Rice. Neither tea, coffee nor sugar appear in these rations, for the very sufficient reason that they were all luxuries at that day, and few could afford to use them. It was also enacted that all persons imprisoned for debt should be set at liberty, because they might, "in this time of common danger, suffer for want of persons to look after them." This Jubilee of the prisoners was, however, limited to six months; after which, the Sheriff had authority to recover and incarcerate them. A subsequent Act extended non-imprisonment for debt, in Sussex, six months longer; at the expiration of which time the system of immuring a man to gratify a merciless creditor was resumed in full, and this disgrace of civilization was suffered to continue in this State for more than eighty years. Happily, it is now exploded. The kindred barbarism of the whipping-post was the first to fall before an enlightened public opinion; imprisonment for debt followed; and lastly the property qualification for voters and officers was swept away; and now the citizens of New Jersey, standing upon the platform of the Declaration of Independence, are indisputably endowed with those "inalienable rights" which the patriots of 1776 shed their life's blood to secure.

Upon the first breaking out of hostilities, in 1755, most of the settlers, as well upon the south-east as upon the north-western slope of the Blue Mountain, fortified their houses by building stockades around them. Casper Shafer, in the Stillwater valley, was one who took this precaution. There were at that time a few Indians living in his neighborhood, and, though not previously hostile, it was not known that their conduct would continue to be pacific. At Mr. Shafer's house it was common for the neighbors to congregate upon each recurring alarm. One night, however, when Mr. S. was alone, the Indians showed signs of hostility by yelling around the house and threatening violence. Mr. S. thereupon fastened up the house and started across the fields to procure neighborhood assistance. Soon he found himself hotly pursued by one of the enemy, and likely to be overtaken by his more agile adversary; whereupon, he turned upon his pursuer, and being an athletic man, he seized, threw, and with his garters bound him hand and foot, leaving him prostrate, while he went on his way, and procured the desired assistance. A Mr. Depue, in Wallpack, had also a narrow escape from the tomahawk and scalping-knife. A party of Indians broke into his house at midnight, with murderous intent, and he, being aroused from slumber, seized his loaded gun, and levelled it at the foremost aggressor, who, real-

izing his danger, uttered the peculiar Indian exclamation, "ugh!" dodged away and fled; so acted the next, and another, and another; and thus, without firing his gun, he succeeded in driving the whole gang from his dwelling.

At a time when the frontier was believed to be well protected, four block-houses having been erected and garrisoned, the family of Nicholas Cole, of Wallpack, was attacked by the Indians, and most of them murdered, while the remainder were carried into captivity. Other murders followed; and the Legislature, on the 12th of August, 1758, in compliance with the petitions of the inhabitants on the frontier, praying "further Defence and Protection against the hostile attacks of the Indians," ordered an additional levy of one hundred and fifty men, none of whom, with the exception of the officers, should be recruited from the militia of the county of Sussex, as "the whole of said militia might be wanted in case of any formidable attack." A new block-house was also ordered to be erected "below Pehoqualin Mountain, near the mouth of the Paulinskill, or between that and the said Mountain." Twenty guides, well acquainted with the country, were to be hired by the commanding officer to conduct the troops through the wilds and fastnesses of our county; and it was further provided, that, inasmuch as the Indians (to use the words of the Act,) "are a very private and secret enemy; and as it has been thought Dogs would be of great service not only in discovering them in their secret retreats among the swamps, rocks, and mountains, frequent in those parts; therefore, be it enacted, &c., that it shall and may be lawful for the Paymaster aforesaid to procure, upon the best terms they can, Fifty good, large, strong and fierce Dogs; and the same so procured to supply with food necessary for their subsistence, equal to ten men's allowance in quality; which said Dogs shall be disciplined for, and employed for the service, in such manner as the said Major, in conjunction with the commission officers, or the major part of them, shall think proper."

This provision shows that the Provincial authorities had determined to assail and drive out the savages, by any and every means available, without regard to those humane considerations which in all ages have had more or less influence in mitigating the ferocity and horror of war. The fact that in neither of the former Acts passed for raising men and means for the protection of the frontier, dogs were resorted to as effective agents for driving out the ambushed Indians, shows that the General Assembly regarded them as of questionable propriety, and not to be employed while any other mode of accomplishing the expulsion of the enemy remained untried.

In this act of the 12th of August, 1758, is embodied the first expression of Legislative thanks—the first tangible Legislative recognition of personal bravery—that appears upon our Provincial records. It is a matter, too, of some local pride that the objects of this official compliment and reward, were, so far as I can fix the location of the men, inhabitants of Sussex. As this part of the act is especially interesting, I shall quote it precisely as it stands upon the statute-book:*

"WHEREAS, it's not only strictly just, but highly prudent, to reward and

* Neville's Laws, p. 202, vol. II.

encourage such acts of martial Bravery, as have a tendency to distress the Enemy, and defend Ourselves: And whereas it's credibly reported, that *John Vantile*, a Serjeant in the Pay of this Colony, with a party of nine more under his command, have lately exerted themselves against the common Enemy upon the Frontiers of this Colony in a signal Manner; and that a Lad, aged about seventeen years, surnamed *Titsort*, when pursued by the Enemy, shot one of them, and secured his Retreat from the imminent danger with which he was threatened, losing his gun; Therefore, as a just Reward to those Persons, and to excite others to imitate their heroic Example, *Be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful for the Paymaster aforesaid, and he is hereby directed, to pay unto the said *John Vantile*, the sum of Twenty *Spanish* Dollars, and to each of the Party under his Command the sum of Ten Dollars a piece; and to the said Lad, surnamed *Titsort*, as aforesaid, the sum of Thirty Dollars; And shall also procure for, and present the said *John Vantile*, and the said Lad, surnamed *Titsort*, with a Silver Medal each, of the size of a Dollar, whereon shall be inscribed the Bust or Figure of an *Indian*, prostrate at the feet of the said *Vantile* and Lad aforesaid, importing their Victory over them, and to commemorate their Bravery, and the Country's Gratitude upon the Occasion. Which Medals, the said *Vantile* and Lad aforesaid, shall or may wear in view, at all such public occasions which they may happen to attend, to excite an Emulation, and kindle a martial Fire in the Breast of the Spectators, so truly essential in this Time of General War."

If this enactment shows more warmth that the Colonial Assembly were wont to exhibit, the solution of their zeal is to be found in the fact, that from May, 1757, to June, 1758, no less than twenty-seven persons were murdered on the frontiers of Northern Jersey. They felt that it was time to be in earnest; and yet with a humane desire to stop the effusion of blood, they took measures to procure a Conference with the Indians, and made appropriations to defray the expenses of the delegations from each tribe in traveling to and from the point proposed for the meeting. Francis Bernard, Esq., who succeeded John Reading, as Governor of the Province of New Jersey, in the spring of 1758, was indefatigable in procuring a conference with the hostile Indians, and this object, in conjunction with Gov. Denny and Gen. Forbes of Pennsylvania, he was enabled to carry into effect. After a preliminary consultation with the Indians at Burlington, the final Conference was held at Easton, Pennsylvania, in October, 1758, and the grievances and complaints recited and preferred by the sons of the forest, were explained and liberally redressed.* From this time until the period

* In June, 1758, Gov. Bernard, of New Jersey, consulted Gen. Forbes and Gov. Denny, of Pennsylvania, as to the measures best calculated to put a stop to the unpleasant warfare; and through *Teedyecung*, King of the Delawares, he obtained a conference with the Minisink and Pompton Indians, protection being assured them. (Smith's New Jersey, pp. 447, 448.) It shows no little regard for truth and the prevalence of a humane and forgiving spirit on the part of the whites, as well as confidence on the part of the Indians, that the one party should venture, after what had passed, to place themselves so completely in the hands of their enemies, and the other to profit not thereby.

The conference took place at Burlington, August 7th, 1758. On the part of the province, there were present, the Governor, three Commissioners of Indian affairs of

of the Revolutionary war, our long distracted and harrassed frontier enjoyed exemption from savage aggression. The Indians in the Conference at Easton assigned several reasons in justification of their hostile acts—some of

the House of Assembly, and six members of the Council. Two Minisink or Munsey Indians, one Cayugan, one Delaware messenger from the Mingorans, and one Delaware, who came with the Minisinks, were the delegates on the part of the natives. The Conference opened with a speech from the Governor. He sat, holding four strings of wampum and thus addressed them: "Brethren, as you are come from a long journey, through a wood, full of briers, with this string I anoint your feet and take away their soreness; with this string I wipe the sweat from your bodies; with this string I cleanse your eyes, ears and mouth, that you may see, hear, and speak clearly; and I particularly anoint your throat that every word you say may have a free passage from your heart. And with this string I bid your welcome." The four strings were then delivered to them. The result of the conference was that a time was fixed for holding another at Easton at the request of the Indians; that being, as they termed it, the place of the "old council."

The act passed in 1757, appropriated £1600 for the purchase of Indian claims; but, as the Indians living south of the Raritan preferred receiving their proportion in lands specially allotted for their occupancy, 3044 acres in the township of Evesham, Burlington county, were purchased for them. A house of worship and several dwellings were subsequently erected, forming the town of Brotherton; and as the selling and leasing of any portion of the tract was prohibited, as was also the settlement upon it of any persons other than Indians, the greatest harmony appears to have prevailed between its inhabitants and their white neighbors.—*Allison's Laws*, p. 221.

On the 8th October, 1758, the Conference commenced at Easton. It was attended by the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, six of his Council, and an equal number of the House of Representatives; Gov. Bernard, of New Jersey, five Indian Commissioners, George Croghan, Esq. (deputy Indian agent under Sir William Johnson,) a number of magistrates and freeholders of the two provinces, and five hundred and seven Indians, comprising delegates from fourteen different tribes. Gov. Denny being obliged to return to Philadelphia, the business of the Conference was mainly conducted by Gov. Bernard, who, in its management, evinced no small degree of talent and tact. It was closed on the 26th October, and the result was a release, by the Minisink and Wapping Indians, of all lands claimed by them within the limits of New Jersey, for the sum of £1000. Deeds were also obtained from the Delawares and other Indians, and they were all desired to remember, "that by these two agreements, the Province of New Jersey is entirely freed and discharged from all Indian claims." At least such was the opinion of Gov. Bernard and the Indians; but the Assembly the ensuing March, in answer to the Governor's speech, mention a small claim of the Totamies, and some private claims, still outstanding. The minutes of this interesting Conference are printed at length in Smith's History. The Governor recommended to the succeeding Assembly the continuance of a guard and the establishment of a regular trading house; but neither measure was adopted. The amicable relations, thus happily begun, remained undisturbed for several years. In 1764 a frontier guard of two hundred men was again kept up for some time, in consequence of disturbances in Pennsylvania, but the alarm soon subsided. In 1769, Gov. Franklin attended a Convention held with the Six Nations by several of the Colonial Governors, and informed the Assembly, on his return, that they had publicly acknowledged, repeated instances of the justice of the New Jersey authorities in bringing the murderers of Indians to condign punishment; declared that they had no claim or demand whatsoever on the Province; and in the most solemn manner conferred on its government the title of *Sagorighiviyogstha*, or *the great arbiter*, or doer of justice—a name which, the Governor truly remarked, reflected high honor upon the Province.—*New York Journal*, October 26th.

In 1802, the small remnant of the original possessors of the soil, remaining in Burlington County, obtained permission to sell their lands, and remove to a settlement on the Oneida Lake, in the State of New York, where they continued until 1824: when with other Indians, they purchased from the Menominees a tract bordering upon Lake Michigan, and removed thither. In 1832, the New Jersey tribe, reduced to less than forty souls, applied to the Legislature of the State for remuneration on account of their rights of hunting and fishing on uninclosed lands, which they had reserved in various agreements and conventions with the whites. Although no legal claim could be substantiated, yet the Legislature, in kindness, and through compassion for the wanderers, directed the treasurer to pay to their agent two thousand dollars, upon filing in the office of the secretary a full relinquishment of all the rights of his tribe.—(Gordon's Hist. of New Jersey.) Thus was extinguished every legal and equitable claim of the Indians to the soil of New Jersey—a fact which must gratify every citizen of the State.—"*Glimpses of the Past*," in the *Newark Daily Advertiser*.

which, to civilized men, would appear to be far-fetched and untenable. They complained that a party of Shawanese, in passing through South Carolina, to make war upon their enemies, were taken up and put in prison, whereby one of the head men of the tribe lost his life; that a party of eight Senecas returning from war, through Virginia, had been inveigled by some white soldiers to march in company with them, whereupon the soldiers suddenly made an attack upon them, killing two of the eight warriors, and kidnapping a boy; that after the French had settled near the Indian wigwams on the Ohio river, they (the French) artfully dilated upon the wrongs suffered by the red men, and incited them to hostile acts, and to appeal to their brethren, the Delawares, to assist them; that when the French first came among them, the Senecas sent word to the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania to supply them with arms to repel the intruders, but those Governors did not heed their request, and they had to be friendly and trade with the newcomers; that the Minisinks were wronged out of a great deal of land by the English settlers, and their reserved liberty of hunting abridged and denied, &c., &c. Upon these grounds, the Indians contended that the white men had given the first offence, and claimed that what they had done was only in accordance with their notions of a righteous retaliation.

From this statement of the subject, it is evident that the Indians of the Six Confederated Nations were not, as is often flippantly asserted, acting in 1755 and the two or three succeeding years, as the compacted allies of the French, but only incidentally aided the latter against the English, in so far as the redress of their own grievances was concerned. After the Treaty of 1758, the Six Nations buried the hatchet, though the war between the French and English continued in full vigor until the sceptre of Gallic power upon the American continent was forever broken by Gen. Wolfe's defeat of Gen. Montcalm on the plains of Abraham.

There can be no doubt that the prosperity of our county was greatly retarded by the "troublesome times" which I have briefly and imperfectly described. But the men of that day were made of "stern stuff," and allowed no amount of misfortune to paralyze their energies. The projects which they had formed prior to the war, both of a private and public character, were resumed as soon as a comparative condition of peace would admit. When the Courts were removed to Woolverton's, it was with the intention of holding them there no longer than until such time as they should be enabled to erect county buildings suitable for the transaction of public business. Accordingly, at the earliest convenient period, Abraham Van Campen, Esq. was despatched to Perth Amboy with the petition of the people to the General Assembly, praying for authority to erect a Court House and Gaol; and on the 12th of December, 1761, that body passed an Act granting the privilege sought, and ordering that the building required should be erected "on the plantation in possession of Henry Hairlocker, or within half a mile of said Hairlocker's dwelling-house; the particular spot to be fixed, with the consent of the owner of the land, by a Majority of the Justices and Freeholders of said county."

The "owner of the land" occupied by Hairlocker, was Jonathan Hampton, a citizen of Essex county; and he, in conjunction with the Board, took the matter immediately in hand, and decided that the course from Hairlocker's

dwelling should run south, which brought the site of the Court House, at the termination of the half mile, directly in the hollow in the rear of the present residence of Daniel S. Anderson, Esq. However, by stretching the chain, they managed to crowd the site partly up the hill, and there it remains to this day; upon a spot altogether unfavorable for architectural display, where taste and skill have been exerted to no purpose, and where the most faultless Doric temple would challenge admiration in vain. I have been particular in looking into this question, because whenever the disadvantageous location of our Court House is commented upon, the fault is invariably attributed to a blunder of the Legislature. This is not true. The Legislature did not require the Board and the "owner of the land" to take any particular course in running out the half-mile from Hairlocker's dwelling, and consequently if our local authorities so managed the matter as to land in a ditch, they alone are to blame.

The site of the Court House being fixed, the next step was to raise means for its construction. This was begun by authorizing the levying of a tax of £500 upon the county for the year 1762, and following it up for two or three years by additional assessments, until the whole amount required for the construction and equipment of the building was raised. As nearly as I can ascertain, from an examination of the books, the total cost of the buildings and the furniture necessary for the purposes to which it was dedicated, was £2,100, proclamation money—equal to \$5,600. The Managers under whose direction the building was erected, were—Abraham Van Campen, Jacob Starn and John Hackett. In 1763, the cells, or that portion which was devoted to the purposes of a Gaol, were so far completed as to admit of the confinement of prisoners therein. In the term of May, 1765, the Courts were opened in the building, and the Managers delivered it to the care of the Board of Justices and Freeholders as a finished edifice. For a period of seventy-nine years this solidly constructed Temple of Justice, unaltered in its external appearance, firmly resisted the "corroding tooth of time," and retained its identity amid surrounding change and innovation. Venerable men, tottering under the weight of four-score years, gazed upon its familiar front, and the days of their youth rose up before them. When the phrase "Old Sussex" was uttered, we had only to glance at the antique proportions of our time-honored Court House, to feel its full force and significance. Around and within its hoary walls the recollections of thousands still cluster, and the household memories of nearly every family in the county are full of its history. Devoted originally to the conservation of Royal authority, it became in a few years the agent and exponent of Republican equality and justice. Opened under vice-regal auspices, it survived the expulsion of its patrons, and became an heir-loom of Freedom: as such it was endeared to us, and as such it was enjoyed, until, in the lapse of time, and by the increase of population and business, its accommodations, once ample and convenient, became year by year relatively more contracted, and finally, in the year 1844, the old edifice was enlarged. Its steep, angular roof disappeared—its gray walls, which had withstood the blasts of eighty winters, received a coating to cover their nakedness, and massive pillars, surmounted by a corresponding entablature, adorned its front, entirely obscuring the familiar outlines of the ancient building. Thus enlarged and renovated, it stood un-

til Thursday, the 28th day of January, 1847, when it was destroyed by fire. Immediate measures were taken for its re-construction, and the present commodious Court House arose upon its ruins.

The names of the lawyers who first practiced in our Courts were Bernardus Lagrange, John Smith, Abraham Cottnam, John DeHart, William Pidgeon, Jasper Smith and Aaron Doud. None of these practitioners resided in our county, except Doud, who acted as Deputy to DeHart, while the latter held the office of County Clerk. DeHart belonged to Elizabethtown, and there, I believe, he remained, notwithstanding his official position in Sussex. The Attorney General of the Province, Cortlandt Skinner, attended our Courts pretty regularly. In his absence, Aaron Doud or Jasper Smith acted for him. This Skinner was a zealous Royalist, and became a Brigadier General under Sir Henry Clinton in the war of the Revolution—in which position he rendered himself forever infamous by his attempts to procure the kidnapping of William Livingston, the first Republican Governor of New Jersey. About the time the Court House was completed in this town, Thomas Anderson, a young lawyer, who studied under Abraham Cottnam of Trenton, came to Newton and settled here permanently, and proved himself a useful and patriotic citizen. Robert Ogden, Jr., another man of merit and public spirit, subsequently became a resident of Sussex and a practitioner in our Courts. Judges Neville, Saltar and Read, of the Supreme Court, attended in this county when it was necessary to hold Courts of Oyer and Terminer, and the county paid their bills for food, lodging and drink—the latter item being by no means the smallest in the “account rendered.” I mention this last matter in no invidious spirit. It was the custom in those days for Judges to imbibe strong drink; and the records of our county show frequent instances wherein the Court adjourned to meet at the tavern, for no other purpose than to moisten their judicial clay with milk punch or rum toddy. Excess, however, appears to have been regarded as disgraceful, especially by men in authority. Drunkenness, indeed, was then, as it is now, held to be disreputable; and the early laws of the Province are full of provisions for its discouragement and suppression, by the old-fashioned “moral suasion” of pains and penalties. Nevertheless, the vice of intemperance became far too common in this county. It deadened the consciences of men, invaded the family circle, and surrounded many a hearth-stone with want, misery, suffering and degradation. Just before the Revolutionary war, this hideous evil had swelled to gigantic proportions, yet it continued to expand until the whole frame-work of society was shattered by its destructive energy. For fifty years this pestilence raged unchecked, displaying in its train the kindred vices of gambling, rioting and blasphemy. It was a terrible ordeal for our county to pass through; yet we were not alone in our debasement; the evil extended over the whole country; and, though a few good men here and there labored to resist the tide, the current was not measurably stayed, until the truth was brought home to the public conscience, that civil and religious liberty was of little value so long as our citizens allowed their appetites for alcoholic stimulants to imbrute and enslave them. The first settlers of this county, and of the Colonies generally, were pre-eminently temperate, honest and God-fearing; and had it not been that, amid all the degradation in which too many of

their descendants voluntarily wallowed, there yet remained in the body politic some portion of the old leaven, the work of reform would have been infinitely more difficult than the laborers in the cause of temperance have hitherto found it. But let us rejoice that the day of more perfect liberty is dawning, and the hour of general emancipation from debasing indulgences draws on apace; for when the "fires of the still" shall be quenched, and soul and body cease to be sacrificed to the Moloch of Intemperance, then will the beauty of our Republican institutions shine forth in full lustre, and the whole Christian world be constrained to acknowledge that Civil Freedom and Religious Liberty are not hollow mockeries, but vital immunities, of abounding beneficence, essential to the prevalence of social happiness, and best calculated to promote the vital interests of mankind.

The land upon which our court-house stands, with the public green annexed, containing two acres and eight-tenths, was conveyed to the Board of Chosen Freeholders of the county of Sussex, on the 31st day of August, 1764, by Jonathan Hampton, of the county of Essex and Province of East Jersey. The deed of conveyance for this tract is addressed "to all Christian People," and is given "for divers just and good causes, and especially for and in consideration of the sum of five shillings lawful money of said Province to him in hand paid." The deed was acknowledged by Abm. Van Campen, one of the Judges, and sealed and delivered in the presence of Ephraim Darby and Isaac Winans.

This donation of land for public use was the finale of Mr. Hampton's efforts to secure the erection of the county buildings in this place. Through his exertions, mainly, the Legislature was induced to select Newton instead of the village of Stillwater, which latter place, by its then central position in the county, was our most formidable competitor. Mr. Hampton also conveyed land to this village for an academy, being the same tract which now forms the larger portion of the Newton Cemetery. He also endowed the Episcopal Church of this place, with the lands which it now holds, and which to this day afford the main support of the rector of the parish. From these facts it will be readily inferred that Mr. Hampton was a man of activity and public spirit, and especially a benefactor of this village. I regret that I have not been enabled to collect materials for a brief sketch of his life. He appears to have been well known to the Provincial authorities of New Jersey, and was honored with their confidence in the Indian war of 1755, having been appointed to disburse the public moneys and procure supplies for our troops on the frontier; an office which he filled with fidelity, and upon the final settlement of his accounts, unlike too many of our modern occupants of responsible stations, who manage when they handle the public money, to have a portion stick to their fingers, *he* had due from the treasurer of the Province the sum of £286 11s. I trust I may say, in this place, without offence, that it is far from creditable to the citizens of this county, that the name of Hampton has been suffered by them to pass into comparative oblivion; not a town, village, hamlet, literary institution, or incorporated company, within our confines, having ever, by the designation bestowed upon it, been made available for the perpetuation of his memory.

In taking a brief survey of the transactions within the walls of our court-house, we may felicitate ourselves upon the fact that crimes of the first mag-

nitude have occupied but a small portion of judicial attention. The doom of death has been denounced against only six persons since our county had an existence, and two of these had not committed murder. The two who were thus executed with hands fortunately unstained by human blood, were named Maxwell and McCoy, and were the first victims to capital punishment in the county. They were hung on the public green in the year 1781, for breaking into the house of John Maxwell, of Greenwich township, robbing the same, and severely beating and bruising the owner. They protested their innocence to the last; and it subsequently was made manifest that their dying asseverations were true. Though two girls, who were in the plundered house, and were compelled to light the robbers through the apartments, swore positively to the identity of Maxwell and McCoy, it was nevertheless discovered that the crime was committed by a party of to-ries, who a few years afterwards, returned the property stolen to the owner.* Thus, the first use of the gallows in Sussex was most unfortunate, and is still treasured in the memory of aged citizens not as an event in which justice was vindicated, but as a most deplorable judicial tragedy.

The main business of our county courts from the beginning, has been the collection of debts, and the settlement of disputed land titles. The adjudications of all matters in dispute have been treated with respect. Impartial justice has been administered from the first by our courts, and never were any people more distinguished than those of Sussex for an abiding reverence for the precepts and principles of public law. No difficulty has ever been experienced in executing the decrees of our courts. Insubordination and contempt of the constituted authorities are not among the characteristics of our citizens, and never have been. Our courts of justice from the very outset have so acted as to secure the respect of the people. Guarding the rights of others, they have never permitted their own immunities to be infringed without stern and dignified rebuke. At a very early period, a certain hot-headed person who mistook the simplicity with which our Judges administered the law, for a lack of self-respect, ventured to pronounce them in open court a pack of rascals: but he found the joke a costly one; he was made to pay instantly the sum of £20 for his temerity, and was glad to escape as cheaply as that, when he saw the spirit which his insolence had

* Robert S. Kennedy, Esq., of Greenwich, a great-grandson of John Maxwell, writes me that the family never believed that the evidence, afterwards discovered, was sufficient to establish the absolute innocence of the men executed. Besides the testimony of the two girls, there was a great deal of strong circumstantial evidence; one point in particular Mr. K. regards as very decisive, viz.: in the desperate struggle, old Mr. Maxwell placed his hand, which was bloody, upon the back of one of the robbers, and by the mark on his coat thus made, he was apprehended next day. This was certainly strong proof, but we are informed that the man proved on the trial that upon the evening in question, he visited a girl whom he was courting, and the family, when he arrived at her house, were cleaning a quantity of shad. He took a knife and assisted the party, and while their hands were bloody from handling fish entrails, some playful scuffling took place, in the course of which he must have received the mark on his garment. John Maxwell, whose life came very near being sacrificed in this affair, was the first settler of that name in Greenwich; he was one of the first elders and founders of the Presbyterian Church in that township; he was the father of Gen. Wm. Maxwell and Capt. John Maxwell, of the Revolutionary Army, both of whom were absent in the service of their country, when the robbery was committed. He had one son, Robert, at home, at the time, who was assailed in the beginning of the affray, knocked senseless, and left for dead. He did not revive until the plunderers had accomplished their work, and left the premises.

evoked, not only from the bench, but from the spectators in the court-room. Another individual, summoned as a grand juror, made his appearance at the proper time, but refused to be sworn or affirmed, and thought by his obstinacy to weary the patience of the Court. But he took nothing by his motion, unless, in journeying home, he found it facilitated locomotion to travel with pockets pretty effectually emptied. •

Prior to the Revolutionary War, as I have before stated, there was no execution for murder or other crime. Neither was there any trial had for an offence involving the forfeiture of life upon conviction of the defendant, except in the case of one Charity Moore, a woman, who was indicted for murder in 1767, but was not hung. The next nearest approach to a trial for a capital crime, was in reference to one Robert Seymour, who was apprehended upon a charge of murdering an Indian; but by the assistance of three friends he broke jail, and fled to parts unknown. His three friends were indicted for aiding his escape, but I have been unable to find in the Court minutes any record of their conviction and punishment. The offence next in magnitude to that perpetrated by Seymour, was committed by one William Atkinson, in the year 1775. He stole a horse, was pursued, taken, found guilty, subjected to thirty-nine lashes, and imprisoned until the costs of his prosecution should be paid. Here he remained 418 days, running up a board bill with John Pettit, gaoler, of £15 3s. 6d., being an average of about 9d. a day. The county paid the bill, and also £7 to Thomas Anderson, for prosecuting him to conviction, but was loath to incur expense any longer, and so upon application to the Court, an order was made to put up Atkinson at public sale, and dispose of his services for what they would bring. He was struck off for the sum of £11, to one Hugh Quig, of Morris county, who gave his note, payable a few days after date, and departed with his purchase. Before the note became due, Quig went over to the British army, and forgot to leave funds behind to pay the county of Sussex. This was an unexpected turn of the wheel, and puzzled our worthy Board exceedingly. They hated to be outwitted in this way, and so upon taking legal advice, they authorized Thomas Anderson to bring suit for the amount of the note against "The Morris County Commissioners for seizing absconding tories." The only result of this step was an increased expenditure, and at last they gave up the chase, satisfied that as the matter thus far had been without profit, its further pursuit would be equally unproductive of honor.

In the year 1765, it was represented to the Provincial Legislature, by the Board of Justices and Freeholders, that "the inhabitants of the county of Sussex were reduced to great distress for want of bread-corn," and that the Board "were incapable of administering to the relief of the sufferers for want of money to enable them to purchase grain for their present exigencies." In consequence whereof, the Legislature, on the 20th of June, passed an act, authorizing the Treasurer of the Province to pay to Abm. Van Campen, John Hackett, Jacob Starn, Richard Shackleton, Samuel Lundy, Richard Bowlby, Hendrick Kuykendahl, and Henry Winter, or any three of them, a sum not exceeding £200, to be disposed of "to the best advantage in purchasing bread-corn for the inhabitants of said county," or to "distribute the said money to such persons and in such proportions as they or the

majority of them should think fit." It was also provided that said money should be returned to the Provincial Treasurer within two years after the publication of the Act. I have searched the records of the county in vain to ascertain the causes of this scarcity of breadstuffs, nor can I obtain any information by inquiry of old men. It could not have resulted from the interruption of agricultural operations in the Indian war, for that contest had been ended six years previously. The only solution that I can give to the mystery is, that population flowed into Sussex about that period to such an extent, as to consume all the surplus grain, &c., and produce a scarcity. A similar occurrence took place in Michigan a few years ago; though a large producer of wheat, that State, at the time alluded to, was forced by an excess of immigration, to become a heavy purchaser of flour for home consumption. What particularly fortifies this conjecture is the fact, that Sussex, when her agricultural advantages first became known, attracted an immediate influx of population. In 1753 she had less inhabitants than any of her sister counties. In 1790 she had outstripped them all except Hunterdon.* Another cause of the rapid settlement of Sussex, is to be found in the fact, that large quantities of her soil were owned by non-residents, who were anxious to effect improvements, and engaged persons to occupy their lands at cheap rents. This system of settlement would have been well enough, if the land-owners had been willing to sell small tracts to such of their tenants as wished to purchase; but this they declined to do; and thus, although the county augmented in population, it increased but little in wealth. I am told by an aged citizen, that within his recollection nine-tenths of the land in the township of Newton was held in large tracts by non-resident owners, and other portions of the county were more or less subjected to the paralyzing influence of a similar monopoly. But the owners finally took a different view of their duty, as well as interest. Instead of holding on, in the hope of ultimately getting large prices, they sold out to as good advantage as they could, ere the virgin soil of their respective tracts should become completely exhausted; and every portion of our county soon felt the beneficial influence of the change. Much of our prosperity is undoubtedly due to the improvements in agriculture within the last forty or fifty years; nevertheless, it is undeniable, that the first grand impulse to enterprise and thrift, was given when the fee-simple of our lands passed from non-residents, and became vested in the same hands which guided the plough. Every man who ceased to be a tenant at will, in order to take position as an undisputed lord of the soil, formed a fresh spoke in the wheel of progress; and now the car of prosperity rolls along with a steady and gratifying motion. The plough-share has been yearly driven into newly cleared acres; pestilent morasses have been converted into beautiful meadows; and the pursuit of wealth has been made subsidiary to the promotion of public health. The system of leasing lands which has been thus happily supplanted, is an immitigable curse wheresoever it exists. Under its lethargic influence the community is benumbed; a "stupor set-

* The following is the Census of New Jersey, by counties, for the year 1790, viz: Hunterdon, 20,153; Sussex, 19,500; Burlington, 18,095; Essex, 17,785; Monmouth, 16,918; Morris, 16,216; Middlesex, 15,956; Gloucester, 13,363; Bergen, 12,601; Somerset, 12,296; Salem, 10,487; Cumberland, 8,248; Cape May, 2,571. Total, 184,189.

ties on the arts of life; the dispirited and discouraged tenant reluctantly drags the plough and harrow to the field only when scourged by necessity; the axe drops from his nerveless hand the moment his own fire is supplied with fuel; and the fen, undrained, sends up its noxious exhalations, to rack with cramps and agues, the frame already too much enervated by a moral epidemic, to creep beyond the sphere of the material miasm."

At the time the county of Sussex was set off from the county of Morris, and for at least half a century before that period, the settlers and land-holders near and upon the division line between New Jersey and New York, had occasional quarrels in reference to their rights, and acts of violence were not unfrequent. The first record of this conflict of title to lands, dates as far back as November 1, 1700, and is to be found upon the Journal of the Colonial Assembly of New York. Disturbances in consequence of an unsettled boundary had at that early period taken place, and a recommendation was made to the Governor to take measures for having the line of partition defined. Nothing decisive, however, flowed from this notice of the subject,* and the people were left to fight their own battles until immediately after the erection of the county of Sussex. The fact is, until the latter event, the New Yorkers appear to have committed their infringements upon New Jersey rights, without any further resistance than a few scattered settlers upon our northern extremity could themselves exert, unaided by a municipal organization. But the erection of the county of Sussex put a different face upon the matter. Civil jurisdiction, through the county authorities, was extended by the Province of New Jersey over this long neglected portion of her territory; and the arrest and imprisonment of several of the intruders who had covered New Jersey rights by New York land grants, gave convincing evidence to all concerned that farther aggression would not be tolerated.† The officers of the county charged with the duty of preserving the in-

* In October, 1748, an act for running and ascertaining the line between the Provinces, passed by the Assembly of New Jersey, was laid before the Assembly of New York, for their objections if any. Before the House had acted upon it, the inhabitants of Orange all along the line, got up a petition against the act, which they presented to the House, and desired to be heard by counsel. This was granted, and on the 28th of October, 1748, the petitioners were heard by their counsel against the New Jersey Act. On the 29th, the House considered the objections against the act, and

"Resolved, That they were strong and well-grounded; that the petitioners take measures, if they think fit, to oppose it; and that the Speaker transmit their objections to Mr. Charles, agent for the Colony in Great Britain, with directions to oppose said act, when it shall be transmitted for His Majesty's royal assent."

Mr. Charles wrote back to know whether the expenses of opposing the law were to be borne by individuals or the public; whereupon the House "resolved, that they be paid by the public."—*Eager's Hist. of Orange county*, p. 372.

† The following is an extract from the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Province of New York:

"April 24, 1751.—The Hon. James De Lancey, Esq., Lieut. Governor, communicated as follows:

"Gentlemen—The division line between this Government and the Province of New Jersey, not being settled, has given rise to great tumults and disorders among the people of Orange County, and the adjacent inhabitants of New Jersey, and may produce worse evils, unless prevented by a timely care. Nothing can answer this purpose so effectually, I think, as the fixing of a temporary line of peace between us, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known in the matter. Gov. Belcher assures me of his sincere desire that amicable and conciliatory measures may be fallen upon by the Governments to make the borders easy; and I have proposed to him the running

violability of our soil, acted with spirit and energy, and if the Provincial Assembly of New Jersey had followed up these initial proceedings with equal boldness and determination, there is every probability that the partition line would have affixed the northernmost limits of our county at Cochetton, instead of Carpenter's Point, and a scope of 200,000 acres of good land been saved for the use of our citizens. But New Jersey unfortunately dozed over her rights, while New York was wide awake. The county of Sussex had been organized barely eleven months, before the New York Assembly had an elaborate report drawn up, giving its own version of the boundary difficulties, and artfully setting forth the facts so as to exonerate its own citizens and throw all the odium of all the breaches of the peace upon the persons who held their lands by virtue of Jersey grants. In this Report, after befogging the case as much as possible, in reference to what stream might be regarded as the "most northwardly branch of the Delaware," or what part of that river is in latitude 41 degrees 40 minutes; the main "consideration" upon which New York rested her claim, is acknowledged to be the location of the Minisink and Wawayanda patents, both of which had their boundaries so imperfectly described, that the holders thereof treated them as "floating patents," to be run out with a gum elastic chain; and accordingly located them to suit their fancy, caring little how distances were stretched, or upon what territory their measurements trenched, so long as their very flexible consciences did not recoil before the magnitude of their own greediness. The southward bounds of the lands thus located, the Report assumes to be the rightful boundary between the two provinces, and takes it for granted that the Jersey settlers, who were remote from the seat of their Colonial Government, isolated, and practically without any representative in their Provincial Assembly, and who consequently were compelled to submit to what they could not prevent, concurred in so regarding it. But this was not, and could not be true.* Even in the final settlement

such line conformably to the opinion of his Majesty's Counsel, signified in their report to me, which I shall order to be laid before you, and if it receives your approbation, I shall forthwith appoint Commissioners for running such line of peace, and apply to that Government to do the like on their part."

* As a specimen of the complaints made against Jerseymen, we extract the following paragraphs from the report to the New York Assembly, on the 29th of October, 1764:

"That the people of New Jersey have from time to time for a considerable time past, collected themselves in large bodies, and with violence have arrested divers of his Majesty's subjects, holding lands under this Province to the Northward of said bounds, and taken possession of their lands and do now forcibly hold the same.

"That the Government of New Jersey hath, within a few years past, erected a new county called Sussex, a great part of which they have extended many miles Northward of the bounds aforesaid.

"That Justices of the Peace and other officers have been and are from time to time, appointed in the said county, and do from time to time exercise authority and jurisdiction over the persons and possessions of a great number of his Majesty's subjects, holding their lands under and paying submission to the Government of this colony.

"That, in consequence of the exercise of such authority and jurisdiction, his Majesty's Justices of the Peace and other subordinate officers and ministers, in and for Orange county have been frequently beaten, insulted, and prevented in the execution of their respective offices, taken prisoners and carried into parts of New Jersey remote from their habitations and the opportunity of being relieved, and have been thrown into jail and held to excessive bail, and prosecuted by indictments, and that others of His Majesty's subjects belonging to Orange county have also met with similar treatment.

of the controversy, when New York obtained all that the Commissioners could with the least approach to decency award her, her line did not come down as far South as the boundary of those famous patents. I have a map published by Lewis Evans, in Philadelphia, in 1755, one year after the date of this Report, a map drawn by an impartial man, and approved by the best geographers of that day as a correct delineation of the Middle Colonies of Great Britain in North America, and in this map the line from the Hudson to the Delaware is run direct to Cochection, or Station Point, whereby the

"That the people of Jersey have also, from time to time, and as often as they are able, possessed themselves of the vacant lands in Orange County.

"That they frequently beset the houses of his Majesty's subjects in Orange County by night, and attempted to seize and take prisoners, such of his Majesty's subjects, and are encouraged to do this by the offer of large rewards made to them, and are also actually kept in pay for that purpose, by the proprietors of East New Jersey.

"That the commissioners of highways for the said new county have laid out a new highway through Minisink aforesaid, which now, by the above mentioned conduct of the people of New Jersey, is almost, if not entirely, reduced to a subjection to the government of New Jersey.

"That the public officers of New Jersey assess and raise taxes upon the people dwelling to the Northward of said bounds by which means many have been prevented from paying their proportion of the taxes of Orange County for more than a year past. Some of them have been obliged to desert their possessions and retire in the Northwardly parts of Orange County, while a few, more resolute than the rest, are reduced to the necessity of converting their dwellings into places of defence, and go armed for fear of some sudden attack.

"That though the Committee could produce many instances of this kind, they confine themselves to one which happened very lately. Thomas DeKey, Colonel of the militia and a Justice of the Peace for Orange County, whose plantations are claimed by New Jersey to be within the aforesaid new county, though he, and those under whom he claims, have held them and been settled upon them under New York eight fifty years, finding himself extremely vexed, disturbed and disquieted by the people of New Jersey, went to James Alexander, Esq., one of his Majesty's Council for this Province, and also for New Jersey Province, and who is one of the proprietors of the Eastern division of New Jersey, of great interest there and esteemed one of the most active persons among them, to endeavor to come to some agreement with him in order that he might remain quiet until the line was finally settled. But the said Alexander refused to consent to any thing of that kind, unless the said DeKey would agree to hold his lands under New Jersey, become a Jerseyman, and fight, as he expressed it, for New Jersey against New York people; and told him at the same time if he would do so he should neither want money or commissions, and if he would not do so, he should be dispossessed of his plantations. This Col. DeKey refusing to comply with, some short time after a number of armed men from New Jersey came to the house of the said Col. DeKey, who observing them approach in such manner, shut himself up in his house. On which they drew up before his door and some of them cocked their guns, and presented them towards the window where Col. DeKey stood, swearing they would shoot him through the heart, that they would starve him out and burn the house over his head—and if man, woman or child attempted to escape they would shoot them down—that they had strength enough to take all Goshen and would do it in time. However, they then withdrew without further violence, and upon their departure one of them said to Col. DeKey, 'Take care of yourself, for we will have you yet.'"

This report was considered on the 8th of November, 1754, and a resolution passed to lay the same before his honor, Lt. Gov. DeLancey, with a request that he would exercise jurisdiction over the disputed territory till his Majesty should be pleased to declare his pleasure with respect to the further jurisdiction of this Province. Col. Beekman and Capt. Winne, the Committee, reported that they had laid the report before the Lieut. Governor, who was pleased to say that "He would consider thereof, and lay the same before his Majesty's Council."

Thus the controversy remained till February 18, 1756, when a new memorial was presented to the House by the proprietors of the Minisink and Wawayanda patents, dated Feb. 10, 1756, which was ordered to be printed. This memorial was very long, and contained a legal argument upon the points in dispute. Nothing decisive, however, was done upon the consideration of this memorial.—*Eager's Hist. of Orange County*, pp. 374, 375.

whole Minisink Patent is thrown into New Jersey, and a goodly slice of the Wawayanda grant apportioned to the same Province. Nor is this all. When the township of Montague was formed from Wallpack, in 1759, the Royal Patent issued for that purpose, re-affirmed the rights of the Province by expressly fixing the northernmost limits of the township at Cohecton, or Station Point. Thus, the judgment of impartial men, as well as Royal authority, sustained the claim of New Jersey; yet New York persevered, making up in audacity what she lacked in title, and finally secured nearly all she claimed. The New York Report, to which I have called your attention, was transmitted to England to be laid before His Majesty's Council. But this led to nothing immediately decisive, albeit it may have disposed some of the Council to view Jersey rights with distrust. In the meantime the authorities of Sussex county persevered in extending their jurisdiction over the territory set down as within our limits, and so effectually did they accomplish their duty, that a petition was read in the New York Assembly, in December, 1762, in which it was stated that the precinct of Minisink "had been wholly wrested from the Colony of New York, and is now subject to the Government of New Jersey." The Provincial Assembly of New York, thereupon passed an act submitting the dispute to the decision of such Commissioners as the Crown of Great Britain might be pleased to appoint; and the Assembly of New Jersey, which had by procrastination, let the golden opportunity slip for a successful assertion of the rights of this Province, was forced by this display of New York disinterestedness, to come in and play second fiddle, and by an act passed on the 23d of February, 1764, she also submitted *her* cause to the same description of Royal Arbiters. New York aggression originated the whole dispute, yet it turned to the decided advantage of the trespasser, the moment New Jersey admitted, as she did by the act of 1764, that "by reason of the unsettled state of the limits of the two Colonies, not only the extent of their respective jurisdictions remain uncertain, and the due and regular administration of Government in both Colonies is by that means greatly impeded; but also frequent and dangerous riots have been occasioned, and are still likely to arise between the borderers, as well concerning the extent of the respective jurisdictions, as the property of the soil, to the great disturbance of the public peace, and the manifest discouragement of His Majesty's good subjects in the settlement and improvement of that part of the country." Pursuant to these Acts by the Legislatures of New York and New Jersey, the King of Great Britain, by Royal Commission, bearing date the 7th of October, 1767, appointed certain persons to determine the boundary line; which duty they performed, fixing it where it now is, and the two Legislatures by a joint Act ratified and confirmed it, in the year 1772. The titles to the lands held by Jersey grants on the north, and by New York grants on the south of this line, were also confirmed to their respective possessors, and the King of Great Britain gave his Royal Approval to the whole proceeding on the 1st of September, 1773. Thus a controversy which was kept up with more or less virulence for a period of seventy years, was terminated finally and conclusively. The acts of violence which were occasionally committed under this boundary dispute, are remembered only in part, and it would be

quite as well were they all forgotten.* The accounts we have of them all come through New York sources, and invariably represent the Jersey claimants as the aggressors. If this be true, New York, in the final settlement of the matter, managed to turn the blows her citizens received to profitable account; for she certainly obtained about 1000 acres for each and every New Yorker who was threshed, even though the number of the poor innocents thus flogged by the Jersey Blues should be set down at full two hundred.

I think it not improbable that New Jersey consented to the line run by the Royal Commissioners, the more readily, because the country had become agitated by momentous questions which demanded for their successful solution the most perfect harmony between all the Colonies. The Stamp Act of 1765, practically asserted the right, which some British politicians held to be the prerogative of the Crown, of taxing the Colonies to any extent which accorded with the will and pleasure of the Mother Country; and its attempted enforcement brought home to the bosoms of the colonists the stern conviction that the hand of arbitrary power was upon them. Every instrument of writing—every printed sheet—the lawyer's parchment and the officer's commission—the innkeeper's license and the apprentice's indenture—the marriage certificate and the dying citizen's last will—every act of the court or counting-house—every record required from the cradle to the grave—each and all bore the inexorable impress of a foreign master. The duty laid upon each article was comparatively small, but the principle involved was of vast and far-reaching consequence. Our forefathers were wise enough to discern the end from the beginning, and they had courage enough to meet the insidious intrusion of despotism at the very

* Major Swartwout resided on the lands in dispute. Some of the Jersey claimants were watching for an opportunity to enter his house and get possession before he could procure help from his neighbors. He was aware of it, and to counteract the attempt and repel the invaders, kept a number of guns ready loaded in his house, with some additional men to work his farm, and lend assistance in case of emergency. He was a bold, resolute man, and feared by those who wished to dispossess him. Notwithstanding his precautions to defend his possessions, it appears that, at a certain time about the year 1780, his family were expelled and his goods removed out of the house, and possession taken by the intruders. This was in his absence, and while his wife was confined to her bed by the birth of a child, and it caused her death.

In order to re-instate the Major, assistance was procured from Goshen, which, with the neighbors, concluded to go secretly and lay in ambush on a hill, in a piece of woods near the Major's house—that Peter Gumaer should go to the house, and discover the situation of the enemy, and when the opportunity became favorable for them to enter the house, then go into the orchard and throw up an apple as a signal for the party to come on. After the party had ambushed themselves and the opportunity became favorable, Gumaer left the house, went into the orchard, and threw up an apple, whereupon the party rushed into the house, expelled the inmates, and re-instated the Major.

The occupants, now fearing that they might be taken by surprise, by a force they could not resist, managed to have a spy among the Jersey claimants, at some twenty miles distance, through whom, from time to time, they received information of all the projects of the claimants. * * * * * The last struggle between the parties was to capture and imprison the Major and Johannes Westbrook, both of whom lived on the battle ground. Any open effort to capture the Major was known to be envied with great difficulty; and the Jerseymen undertook to effect it on the Sabbath, at the door of the Mahackamack church. This was between the years 1764 and 1767, while Rev. Thos. Romeyn was the pastor. To accomplish it, they had collected a strong party, who came armed with clubs on the day appointed, and surrounded the church. After the services were ended, and the Major and Capt. Westbrook had gone out, they were captured and made prisoners, after a harsh rough-and-tumble struggle. The Major was taken and confined in the Jersey prison, from which, however, he was soon released.—*Eager's Hist. of Orange Co.*, pp. 378, 379.

threshold. They "scented the approach of tyranny in the tainted air." They remonstrated against the obnoxious law, and sternly opposed its enforcement. The British ministry wavered, and repealed the act, but at the same time re-asserted their right to "bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever." A brief calm succeeded, but it was the calm that gives augury of the earthquake. The British ministry returned to the charge, and a new and equally odious tax was laid upon paper, glass, paints, tea, &c.; a Board of Commissioners was appointed to manage, at Boston, the revenue arising from the duties imposed; and the Colonies ordered to provide means for the support of such British troops as the Crown might send among us to uphold by their bayonets the arbitrary laws enacted by Parliament. These measures revived the flame of resentment, and the fires of Colonial opposition burned more intensely than ever. The people every where met and adopted resolutions of the most spirited character, binding themselves not to import any thing from the mother country. A collision between the people of Boston and the British soldiery quartered there, in March, 1770, which resulted in bloodshed, was regarded by many as inaugurating an era of sanguinary despotism, and viewed by all as a positive proof that the loyalty of the Colonies would inevitably be obliterated if mercenary troops should continue to be stationed in our populous towns. Time wore on, while the spirit of resistance was deepening, and in 1773 the disputes relative to the importation of tea led to the destruction of a cargo of that article in the harbor of Boston. This exasperated the British Parliament; the port of Boston was closed, and the franchises of the province of Massachusetts revoked, depriving the people of the right of choosing their own local officers. When these arbitrary acts were proclaimed in America, a general sentiment of indignation and opposition pervaded the continent. Massachusetts recommended a meeting of delegates from all the Colonies, at the same time electing five persons for that purpose. On the 4th of September, 1774, the deputies of eleven colonies appeared in Philadelphia, and agreed to various measures intended to restore to the country the rights which had been invaded and trampled upon. To this Colonial Congress, New Jersey elected five delegates; and I now hold in my hand a copy of their credentials.* They were chosen by a Provincial Convention assembled at New Brunswick, on the 23d of July, 1774; in which body the county of Sussex was represented by Thomas Anderson, Abia Brown and Mark Thompson. I mention this fact to show that the inhabitants of Northern Jersey, though

* The following is a copy of the credentials above mentioned, transcribed from a copy found among the papers of the late Thomas Anderson, Esq., of Newton, viz:

To James Kinsey, Wm. Livingston, John Dehart, Stephen Crane, and Richard Smith, Esq., and each and every one of you:

The Committees appointed by the several Counties of the Colony of New Jersey to Nominate Deputies to Represent the same in General Congress of Deputies, from the other Colonies in America, Convened at the City of New Brunswick, have nominated and appointed and hereby do Nominate and appoint you and each of you Deputies to Represent the Colony of New Jersey in the s^d General Congress. In Testimony whereof, the Chairman of the several Committees here Met have hereunto set their Hands this Twenty-third Day of July, the 14th year of his Majesty's Reign, 1774:

Wm. P. Smith, Jacob Foord, John Moores, Robt. Johnston, Robt. Field, Robt. F. Price, Peter Zabriske, Samuel Tucker, Edward Taylor, Hendrick Fisher, Archd. Stewart, Thomas Anderson, Abia Brown, Mark Thomson.

hemmed in by mountains, and distant from the marts of commerce, were among the first to resist the encroachments of tyranny, and to participate in the adoption of measures for the vindication of colonial liberty. Let it not be understood, however, that at this period, a separation from the mother country was contemplated. This was not the fact. The grand idea of American Independence first developed itself when patriot blood crimsoned the soil of Concord and Lexington; the conflict at Bunker Hill strengthened it; and what at first was uttered in whispers now began to be mentioned in tones of confidence. Still the main remedy most universally desired, even at this late period of popular alienation, was the redress of grievances, and the recognition of the rights of the Colonies. The Continental Congress, in its first two sessions of Sept. 1774, and May, 1775, breathed an earnest desire to settle the controversy amicably, and the cry of reconciliation and redress was continued with more or less fervency, until it was lost amid the din of resounding arms, and a resort to a formal and authoritative Declaration of Independence became imperative as the distinctive rallying point, the bond and pledge of union, for the champions of right, of justice, and of liberty.

A significant instance of the spirit which early pervaded this county, was given by the Board of Freeholders, at their session on the 10th of May, 1775. It is contained in the following extract from their minutes on that occasion, viz. :

"Ordered, That the Sheriff be paid the sum of four pounds, it being money advanced by him to discharge the Judges' expenses of two Supreme Courts; *and this Board orders, that from henceforth no Judges' expenses be paid by this County.*"

As the Judges who were thus laconically notified that their further services were not desirable, derived their authority from the Crown, and as they were almost the only visible link which connected the people of Sussex with royalty, this order may be set down as a local declaration of independence. It bears date twenty-one days after the battle of Lexington, and thirty-eight days before the battle of Bunker Hill. It preceded the National Declaration of Independence about fourteen months.

When the great work of establishing the Freedom and Independence of the American Colonies was finally entered upon, the most serious impediment in the way of the Patriots was the defection of a large number of their fellow-citizens. The men who were thus found wanting in the hour of need had nearly all been eager for a remission of the burdens imposed upon them by the British Parliament, and had petitioned for relief; but when they found that redress was only to be obtained by an appeal to the sword, a portion of them lacked the nerve to pass the dread ordeal. Others had religious scruples which forbade their doing any act whereby blood might be shed; and a third class, looking upon the Colonies as too weak to contend with the mother country, were eager to place themselves upon the stronger side, and sought to commend themselves to Royal regard by turning their arms against their own neighbors and brethren. We may well entertain charity for those whose constitutional timidity caused them to cower in the presence of danger; and we may also forbear to judge harshly the conduct of men who in those times of trial could not conscientiously resist their

enemies to the sacrifice of human life; but for that band of traitors and fratricides who robbed, pillaged and murdered their friends and kindred—who acted as spies and guides for the armies of the oppressor—who took the bread out of the mouths of their brethren, to bestow it upon the troops who were ravaging the land—and who even consorted and conspired with the Indian savages, piloting them to the abodes of the white settlers, and rejoicing when the barbarians sunk their tomahawks into the brains of helpless women and children—for such fiends incarnate there can never be harbored in the true American bosom any other feeling than that of the bitterest scorn and execration. If the infamy of these men clings to their descendants, let us not attempt to lighten the load of those who stagger under the weight of the “sins of their fathers,” but let us rather heed the lesson, which so plainly teaches us, that in all national emergencies where external force is brought against us for our subjugation, to cling to the cause of our country, and stand shoulder to shoulder with our friends and neighbors. He who violates the laws of health, transmits to his posterity a physical curse; and so he who sets at naught all social obligation and stabs with traitorous hand the community which nurtured him, by every principle of political justice, bequeaths a portion of his infamy to the luckless issue of his detested body. These are my views; and what is much more to the purpose, they are the views of the great mass of mankind; they may not bear the rigid analysis of cold and passionless philosophy, but they nevertheless well up warm from the heart, and arise so incontestably from the noblest impulses of our common humanity, that we embrace them by intuition. I utter these sentiments in the presence of the children, grandchildren, and great-grand-children, of the men of the Revolutionary Era; and I do it with the more gratification, because in all this vast assemblage there is probably not one descendant of that class of fratricidal Tories upon whose memories I would invoke eternal maledictions. When I was honored with an invitation to address you, I feared that I might find a portion of the imputations which have been cast upon the patriotism of your forefathers, justified by the record, so far as any record of the events of the Revolution existed. But the few materials which I have been enabled to find by an industrious exploration of every receptacle of old papers within reach, all go to disprove the charges which have been made, and to brand as base and slanderous the idle stories to the discredit of your ancestors, in which flip-pant ignorance has too long been permitted to indulge. The county of Sussex, in 1776, contained not far from 13,000 inhabitants; of which, according to the usual ratio, 2,600 were males over the age of twenty-one years. Of all this number, 96 only were attainted for joining the army of the King, and their property confiscated to the State; while, of those who were not freeholders, there certainly was not more than an equal number who refused to take the oath* abjuring their allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain.

* The following is a copy of the oath of abjuration and allegiance administered to all our officers and citizens, after the establishment of a Republican form of Government in New Jersey, in 1776, viz:

“I, A. B., do sincerely Profess and Swear, that I do not hold myself Bound to bear Allegiance to the King of Great Britain. *So help me God.*”

“I, A. B., do sincerely Profess and Swear, that I do and will bear true faith and allegiance to the Government established in this State, under the Authority of the People. *So help me God.*”

Adding both these classes together, we have about 200 disaffected persons in 2,600—a proportion of only one in fourteen. If any county in the State can show a greater preponderance of patriotism in “the days that tried men’s souls,” we will cheerfully yield the palm; but until they do, let us not hear Sussex stigmatized as a “nest of tories.” It is true that our mountain fastnesses afforded places of retreat for outlaws and robbers, and now then some roving tories, under the leadership of one Bonnell Moody, of Hunterdon county, availed themselves of those advantages; but there is no evidence that this gang found a congenial sphere for their operations in this quarter. Many tales of Moody’s prowess are kept afloat upon the stream of tradition, nearly all of which are fabulous. The exploit of entering the village of Newton, one stormy night, and stealthily effecting ingress into our jail, where he intimidated the keeper, and forcing him to surrender his keys, unlocked the cells and set the prisoners free, is doubtless true.* This was in the year 1781, when the war had been virtually ended by the surrender

* It is probable that the following incidents collected by the late Nelson Robinson, Esq., in reference to Moody, are based upon truth:

It is related that, one cold night in winter, he suddenly entered the dwelling of Robert Ogden, Esq., near Sparta. He robbed the house of considerable valuable plate, and searched for money; but was disappointed in not obtaining the amount he appears to have anticipated was in the old gentleman’s possession. He then took him out back of his house, and forced him to take an oath not to make known his visit until sufficient time had elapsed for himself and his confederates to escape pursuit. One or more hired men, however, who had been concealed in the upper part of the house, and who were not bound by their employer’s oath, immediately upon their departure sounded the alarm, and a small party of the neighbors immediately gave chase. They came very near overtaking them next morning; for they tracked them through the snow to where they had lain in their blankets over night, and where their fires were still burning when discovered. They tracked the plunderers to Goshen, in the State of New York, and there recovered some of the booty which had been taken away.

On one occasion the Whigs of Newton supposed this daring highwayman was cooped up in the house of an individual suspected of being tinctured with toryism. They searched every nook and cranny, stuck pitchforks into the hay and straw stacks, but no Moody was discovered; he, nevertheless, afterward emerged from beneath the floor, where he had been snugly packed away in straw, to tarry until his hunters had withdrawn from the premises.

On another occasion, just as the Whigs were on the point of springing upon him and his band, a negro conveyed intelligence of their designs, and Moody, with his men, narrowly escaped; the bread which was baking for him, and the other provisions which were prepared, falling into their hands.

While the American army lay at Morristown, and an officer was drilling some troops not long enlisted, a man, very shabbily dressed, mounted on an old broken-down nag, one day was seen riding carelessly along before the lines, like a simple-hearted and rather soft-headed rustic, not over well supplied with either worldly sense or substance. Suspicion at length induced the belief that there was more about that old horse and his awkwardly inquisitive rider than at first view one would conjecture. One of the soldiers thought he had seen that face before, and a horseman was soon despatched to bring him back. Moody—for he was the suspicious character on whose track he was sent—shot him dead as he came up to him, dragged his body into the woods out of sight, and once more narrowly escaped by secreting himself in a contiguous swamp.

Moody is believed to have been employed by the English to obtain recruits in this section of such as might be found favorable to Great Britain. He likewise was to act as a spy upon the movements of the Whigs, and to check and overawe them by a show of opposition in their midst; by making divisions and difficulties close at hand, and thereby drawing off their attention and assistance from the Colonial army. For a short period he concealed himself in a cavernous retreat among the rocks at the lower extremity of the Muckshaw Pond, about two miles south of the village of Newton. Two or three miles south-west of this spot, on the Pequest river, resided some disaffected persons, who are suspected of having furnished Moody with supplies while he was hidden in the ravines near the Muckshaw.

of Cornwallis, and the precautions taken by our citizens for the security of the Jail were measurably intermitted. What became of him after this event, I know not; but that he speedily relieved this county of his presence is undoubted. The search immediately made for him, had he remained, would have been successful, and his days of infamy fitly terminated by an ignominious death. That he had a few sympathizers among us, is probable; but that any citizen of Sussex was a member of his gang of marauders, is not susceptible of proof. I am persuaded that the fabulous adventures which are attributed to this Tory highwayman have contributed more than any one thing to destroy the reputation of our county, and lead uninformed men to harbor the notion that the number of our Patriots were so few and irresolute that they permitted a small band of thievish "cow-boys" to ravage our towns and villages, with scarcely a shadow of resistance. Certainly, it is high time that this apocryphal episode in our local history should receive the stamp of reprobation; and I rejoice that all the fragments of our perishing Revolutionary annals which I have been fortunate enough to recover, go to vindicate the patriotism of our citizens, and show the general unanimity with which they embraced the cause of struggling and beleaguered Freedom.

I have heretofore mentioned that Sussex participated in the primary measures which called the first Colonial Congress into existence. This fact rests upon documentary proof, and cannot be invalidated. Contemporaneous with this movement, or very soon after it, Revolutionary Committees of Safety were established in all our townships, delegates from which formed a County Committee of Safety, which met in the Court House once a month. This County Committee exercised a general supervision over the township organizations, provided means for promoting the popular cause, and procured the oath of abjuration to be administered to every citizen of the county, carefully noting down the names of those who refused, with the grounds upon which they based such refusal, and causing the recusants to be presented by the Grand Inquest of the county, to the end that they might appear in Court and openly recant, or give bonds for their peaceable behaviour. The minutes of the sittings of this important Committee were carefully written out, for the information of subordinate Committees; and, with a little care, might have been preserved; but like the great mass of local memoranda, which now would be esteemed invaluable, they appear to have been regarded as possessing a merely ephemeral interest, and were thrown aside as so much rubbish so soon as they had answered the immediate purpose in hand. I esteem it peculiarly fortunate that, amid the general destruction of these important papers, the minutes of one of the early meetings of the County Committee have been preserved, and are now in my possession. I found the manuscript among some loose papers in the Clerk's office, cast aside as of no account, and left to moulder undisturbed amid dust and cobwebs. The proceedings which this ancient document discloses, took place at the session of the County Committee of Safety held in the Court House on the 10th and 11th days of August, 1775—about eleven months before the Declaration of Independence was made by the representatives of the United Colonies. At this meeting delegates appeared from all the townships except Hardyston, viz: William Maxwell, Benjamin McCollough and James

Stewart, of Greenwich; Edward Demond, Samuel Hazlet and William Debnam, of Mansfield; John Lowry, John McMurtry and William White, of Oxford; Abraham Besherrer, Nathaniel Drake and Andrew Waggoner, of Knowlton; Casper Shafer, of Hardwick; Archibald Stewart, Robert Price, John Stoll, Thomas Anderson, Jacob McCollum,* Phillip Dodderer, and Jacob Stoll, of Newtown; Jacob Dewitt and Joseph Harker, of Wantage; Abm. Van Campen, Daniel Depue, Jr., Moses Van Campen, Joseph Montanye, Emanuel Hover, John C. Symmes and John Rosekrans, of Wallpack; Samuel Westbrook, Abraham Brokaw and Henry Hover, of Sandyston; and Henry W. Courtright and John Courtright, of Montague. Wm. Maxwell, of Greenwich, was chosen Chairman, and Thomas Anderson, of Newtown, Clerk. Returns were called for from the several towns of the names of those who refused to sign the Articles of Association for the respective townships. In Greenwich, seven persons were returned as having refused to sign, four of whom were Quakers who declared it to be against their conscience to take up arms, one gave no reason, and the remaining two "would take time to consider!" From Mansfield, two names were returned, but no reason for refusal assigned. In Sandyston, all signed except two "who are willing to do so when opportunity offers." In Montague, every citizen signed; and in Wantage, all signed "except Joseph Havens and one or two more Quakers, who are Whigs, and are willing to contribute." The other Towns, says the record, "not having had the Association particularly carried to the Inhabitants, ordered, that the Committees of said towns wait upon the People and make return at the next meeting of this Committee."

What report was made from the "other towns" is not now known; but may be inferred from the complexion of the returns just given. These items afford us an insight into the state of feeling which pervaded the county at that early day, and conclusively refute the gross imputations which have been recklessly and maliciously cast upon the patriotism of our Revolutionary citizens.

At this meeting means were taken to raise by tax the county's quota of ten thousand pounds ordered by the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, for the purpose of raising money to "purchase arms and ammunition, and for other exigencies of the Province." Casper Shafer was appointed Collector of the county, to take charge of the funds to be raised under the authority of the Committee of Safety. It was also ordered that "the Captains of the respective companies of militia send an account to the next meeting of the Committee of all persons upwards of 16 and under 50 years old, in their several Districts, who refuse to sign the muster Rolls, that their Names may be forwarded to the Provincial Congress."

* Jacob McCollum was elected to the Legislature in 1778, and served in that body for a few years with great acceptance. He was a man of primitive habits, and is still remembered as one of the most characteristic representatives of the frontier population of Old Sussex. In his time, members were allowed only four shillings per day, and there were no railroads nor "free tickets." In preparing for his journey to "Trent Town," he would pack his wardrobe in a bundle, and his provisions in a capacious wallet, and thus equipped, with knapsack on his back and staff in hand, he wended his way to the capital on foot. When the public business was concluded, he returned home in the same independent style, and, like Cincinnatus, after serving his country, resumed with a willing hand the unobtrusive labors of the husbandman.

Capt. John McMurtry and Lieut. William White, of Oxford township, being desirous to go to Boston, where the Americans were rallying under the standard of Washington, then just appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Continental forces, requested the Committee to certify as to their "place of abode, character and reputation;" which was at once complied with.

On motion, it was "Resolved, *nem. con.*, That any person thinking himself aggrieved by any merchant or trader in this county taking an exorbitant price for any article of goods, make application to the Chairman of the Town Committee where such merchant or trader resides, who is to call a meeting of said Committee as soon as convenient thereafter, which said meeting to consist of five members, at least, And the said Committee when convened shall notify the said merchant or trader to appear and show why he has taken so great a price, and if it shall appear that he has taken an unreasonable profit, or shall refuse to attend or give any satisfaction in the premises, that he be cited by the said Committee to appear at the next meeting of the County Committee, there to be dealt with according to the rules of the Continental Congress."

A memorial on this subject was also drawn up and ordered to be presented to the Continental Congress, praying that the latter body would make inquiry and ascertain if the Philadelphia and New York merchants, of whom the traders in this county purchased their goods, were not at the bottom of this system of extortion, speculating upon the public necessity by affixing exorbitant prices upon their merchandize. I am unable to state here what were the general prices so earnestly complained of, but I am informed that about this period fifty bushels of wheat were exchanged, upon one occasion at least, for one bushel of salt; and that calico was sold at 15s. per yard, while rye would only bring 1s. 8d. per bushel. The ladies at that day, like those of the present, indulged the pardonable vanity of displaying their charms to the best advantage, but the ruinous rates at which all articles of dress were held, restricted their desires, and caused the short gown, which required for its completion only two and a half yards of calico, to come into fashion. Only one pair of shoes per year could be afforded, which were generally purchased about Christmas, and which the fair owners carefully preserved from dilapidation through the summer by going barefoot, like the enchanting goddesses that figure in ancient mythology.

But to return to the proceedings of the Committee of Safety. It was ordered that the "colonels of each regiment and battalion in the county issue orders to the several captains to make strict inquiry into the state of their several companies, with regard to firearms, and make a return of all deficiencies." It was also ordered that a sum not exceeding £40 be applied to the purchase of ammunition for the battalion under the command of Col. John C. Symmes, and that said sum be immediately raised in "the three townships on the north-west side of the Pahaquala mountain," and credited to them in "the quota of said towns of the money to be raised in the county agreeable to the directions of the Provincial Congress." On motion of Thomas Anderson, it was resolved, "that it be recommended to the Committee of Knowlton to get the Association in their town signed as speedily as possible, and to suppress any riot there in its infancy, as threats of a riot from that town had been reported." From this it appears that Knowlton

was the only township in which contumacy had assumed so bold a front as to require the notice of the Committee. The explanation of this circumstance, in my opinion, is to be found in the fact, that in this township James Moody, a brother of Bonnell Moody, resided. He was a royalist of the most infamous stamp, and in conjunction with Bonnell, labored to produce all the mischief he could. He succeeded in gathering around him a number of confederates, but the place soon became too hot to hold him and his tory coadjutors. He and they precipitately fled to the British lines, and his property, as well as the property of those who were governed by his traitorous counsels, was finally confiscated to the State.

Thus far, in transcribing the proceedings of the Committee, I have invited your attention to those points which involved or contemplated needful action, without being intermingled with those expressions of sentiment which proclaim the spirit, or *animus*, which actuate associations of men. Let me tax your patience with one more extract from this document, to complete the picture, and show how brilliantly "the fire of the old flint" scintillated in the county of Sussex even at that early day. On motion of John Cleve Symmes, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

"WHEREAS, There are some men, who, after having signed the Association, have basely turned their backs upon the sacred cause of liberty, and vilely aspersed her true sons, and wickedly endeavored, and do still endeavor, to sow sedition, create confusion, and fill the minds of the good people of the county with groundless fear and jealousy, to the great detriment of the public cause, that therefore this Board take the same into consideration.

"*Resolved, nem. con.*, That if any person or persons in any of the towns in this county, shall hereafter asperse any of the friends of liberty in this county on account of their political sentiments, or shall speak contemptuously or disrespectfully of the Continental or Provincial Congresses, or of any of the Committees of and in this county, or of any measures adopted or appointed to be pursued by the Congresses or Committees for the public good and safety, on complaint being made thereof to any one of the Committee of the town where such person shall reside, the Chairman shall, with the consent of a majority of said Committee, at the next meeting, issue an order to the captain of the next company of militia, to send a party of five or six men of his Company, to take such offender or offenders and forthwith bring him or them before the said Committee; and if such offender or offenders on proof being made of the fact laid to his or their charge, shall refuse to retract or express sorrow and contrition for his or their offences, and will not promise amendment in future, the said Chairman shall a day or two previous to the next meeting of the county Committee, direct said captain to send a party of his men as aforesaid, to take said offender or offenders, and bring him or them forthwith before the county Committee to be dealt with, according to his or their deserts."

I have now finished all that is necessary to quote from this document, and I submit it to the judgment of this assemblage, whether in the face of so complete an organization of the sons of liberty, as is here shown, any considerable number of tories did or could make the county of Sussex a safe abiding place? The names which appear on the list of this Committee are worthy of being held forever in grateful remembrance. Two or three be-

came men of distinction. William Maxwell, the Chairman, was a brigadier-general in the army of Washington, and every inch a soldier. He served in the French War of 1755, as an officer of Provincial troops; was with Braddock when that general was defeated, and fought under Wolfe at the taking of Quebec. He was afterwards attached to the Commissary Department, and was posted at Mackinaw, holding the rank of colonel. As soon as he heard that the Colonies which bordered upon the Atlantic, had resolved to resist the Crown to the death, rather than submit to be enslaved, he resigned his commission in the British army, marched on foot to Trenton, and tendered his services to the Provincial Congress, then in session. They were accepted, and a colonel's commission bestowed upon him, with orders to raise a battalion to march for Quebec. He succeeded in enlisting a fine body of men, and was engaged in recruiting when the meeting of the Sussex county Committee of Safety, in August, 1775, was held. He took up his line of march according to orders, but the defeat of Montgomery occurred before he could possibly reach Quebec, and nothing remained but to return to head-quarters. He was soon after raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and served with distinction in the battles of Germantown, Monmouth, Brandywine, Springfield, Wyoming, and elsewhere. His personal frankness and the absence of all haughtiness in his manners, made him a great favorite with the soldiers; but his merits, as is too often the case, excited envy; some of the officers, who boasted a more aristocratic lineage, than he could claim, showed much jealousy of his advancement; and in 1782, when one of this class, succeeded in obtaining promotion over his head, he resigned his commission. He enjoyed to the last the special regard of Gen. Washington, who frequently eulogized him in his letters. Unfortunately for biographical purposes, Gen. Maxwell's house took fire just after the close of the Revolution, and all his valuable papers and correspondence were destroyed.* His

* The following inscription, written by his friend and compatriot, Gov. Howell, of New Jersey, is placed over the remains of this gallant officer, in the graveyard of the First Presbyterian Church of Greenwich township:

Beneath this marble
Lies the body of
BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL,
Eldest son of John and Anne Maxwell, of the township of
Greenwich, county of Sussex, and State of New-Jersey,
who departed this life,
On the 4th of November, in the year of our Lord, 1796,
In the 63^d year of his Age.
In the Revolutionary War which established the Independence of the
United States,
He took an early, an active part;
A distinguished military partisan,
He arose, through different grades of the American Army,
To the rank of Brigadier-General;
A Genuine Patriot,
He was a firm and decided Friend
To the Constitution and Government of his Country;
In Private Life, he was equally devoted to its service,
And to the good of the community of which he was a member,
An honorable and charitable Man,
A warm and affectionate Friend,
A zealous advocate of the Institutions and
An active promoter of the
Interests of the Christian Religion.

brother, Capt. John Maxwell, in the darkest hour of the Revolutionary conflict, when Washington had been forced to evacuate New York, and was retreating hither and thither through the Jerseys—when his dispirited troops dropped off daily, and when his forces had become so reduced that it is said he could call every man by name he had under him—appeared with one hundred men, recruited in Greenwich and the neighboring townships, and tendered their services to the great chieftain. It was upon this occasion that Washington, surprised and gratified, exclaimed “What! one hundred men, good and true, from Sussex!” importing thereby that he was agreeably astonished to find, that while the people of the counties which were peculiarly exposed to the ravages of the British troops, were falling away from him, the men who were securely nestled in the mountains had not caught the infection, as he feared might be the case, but remained in adversity, as they had been in prosperity, “good and true.” This anecdote which involves a great compliment, has been distorted by the slanderers of our county into a precisely opposite meaning—it has actually been adduced as a proof that Washington did not think there were one hundred honest patriots in Sussex! Nothing, I am confident, could have been further from his real opinion. Even had he doubted the integrity of our people he would never have proclaimed it; he was not precipitate in forming his judgment, nor petulant in his expressions; and they who distort his meaning in this instance, not only insult the people of this county but cast dishonor upon the memory of Washington. Capt. Maxwell's company proved a valuable acquisition to the American army, were efficient in aiding to turn the tide of the Revolution at Trenton, and did good service in the fierce conflict of the Assanpink, and the sanguinary battle at Princeton.*

But why Man's merit or his worth disclose,
While doomed to moulder in this dread abode?
Our hopes of Endless happiness repose,
Alone, on our Redeemer and our God.

* The following inscription upon the tombstone of this sterling patriot, in the Greenwich churchyard, briefly recites his history and describes his worth:

In Memory of
JOHN MAXWELL, Esq.,
Second son of John and Anne Maxwell.
He was born in the county of Tyrone, Ireland,
Nov. 25th, A.D. 1739,
And at an early age emigrated with his Father
To New Jersey.
He was a Lieutenant in the First Company raised in Sussex
County, for the defence of his adopted Country,
In the Revolutionary War;
And soon after, in the darkest hour of her fortunes, joined
the Army of General Washington, as Captain of a
Company of Volunteers.
He was engaged in the Battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine,
Germantown, Monmouth and Springfield,
And ever distinguished himself as a brave and able officer.
Having served his Country in various civil and military offices,
And faithfully discharged his various duties,
As a Soldier, Citizen, and a Christian,
He closed a long and useful life, at his residence
At Flemington,
February 15th, A.D. 1828,
In the Eighty-Ninth year of his Age.

Thomas Anderson, Clerk of the Committee of Safety, remained in the county, ferreting out the tories and bringing them to the test of giving in their adhesion to the cause of liberty, or submitting to such pains and penalties as could be legally inflicted upon them. In this work, he was heartily assisted by Evi Adams, Esq., of Wantage, and James Davison, Esq., of Greenwich. For a considerable portion of the war he acted as Assistant Deputy Quarter Master General, and attended to forwarding flour, chopped feed, hemp, &c., from this county, for the sustenance and use of the army. The three points to which supplies from Sussex were sent, were Trenton, Morristown, and New Windsor. Cavalry horses, which were worn down in the service, were consigned to Mr. Anderson, who had to procure keeping proper to resuscitate and fit them for active service. This office was one of great importance, and Mr. A. discharged it with skill and fidelity. There were few wagons in the county, and it was necessary to procure some from a distance. Teams were scarce and difficult to be obtained. Besides, our roads were new, and ill adapted to teaming purposes. Yet Mr. A. persevered, until it was found impracticable to forward supplies with the means at command; in this emergency, an order was received by Mr. Anderson's principal, Moore Furman, from Gen. Washington, empowering him to impress teams, whenever necessary, and where forage could not be procured by purchase, to impress supplies of that also.* This delicate duty Mr. A. discharged with firmness—the public interests demanded extraordinary measures—and, if there were a few cases of individual hardship produced by this summary system of management, the general good was promoted. The army supplies raised in Sussex, and forwarded to the various military posts, were of great efficacy in strengthening the sinews of war; and all engaged in this useful business were quite as effectually rolling on the ball of Revolution, as they who “spent their dearest action in the tented field.” Mr. Anderson was appointed in 1785, the first Surrogate in our county, which office he held by successive re-appointments, until his death, in 1807. He was also acting Clerk of the county from the year 1770 to 1777.

Col. John C. Symmes, a leading member of the Committee, repaired with the battalion under his command to Morris county, in the fall of 1776, and formed a part of the brigade of Col. Jacob Ford. On the 14th of December,

* The following is a literal transcript of a copy of General Washington's order for the impressment of teams, &c., found among the papers of the late Thomas Anderson, Esq., of Newton, viz.:

To MOORE FURMAN, Esq., }
Deputy Q. M. Genl. }

The present critical and important conjuncture requiring every possible effort to forward the Stores and Provisions for the use of the Army, and the present embarrassment in the Quarter Master General's Department rendering it impracticable to provide competent means in the ordinary way. You are hereby authorized and empowered to impress as many teams in the State of New Jersey, as you may find necessary for the Purpose above mentioned with respect to those articles which are under your direction. And in order that an adequate supply of forage may be had, you will provide, by purchase, impress or otherwise the Quantity necessary, for which this shall be your warrant.

Given at Head-Quarters,
Robinson's house, State of New Jersey,
July 30th, 1780,

(Copy)

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

in that year, while quartered at Chatham, and charged with the duty of covering the retreat of Washington through New Jersey, Col. Ford received intelligence that 800 British troops, commanded by Gen. Leslie, had advanced to Springfield, four miles from Chatham, and he ordered Colonel Symmes to proceed to Springfield and check the approach of the enemy, if possible. Accordingly, Col. S., with a detachment of the brigade, marched to that village, and attacked the British in the evening. This was one of the first checks Leslie met with after leaving Elizabethtown, but others soon followed, and his further progress in that direction was effectually stopped. In the skirmish at Springfield, Capt. Samuel Koykendahl, of this county, had his hand split from the middle finger to the wrist by a musket ball—a wound which ultimately deprived him of the use of his arm. Col. Symmes, being soon after made one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, his judicial duties compelled him to retire from the field. A few years after the Independence of the United States was established, Judge Symmes removed to Ohio, where his accomplished daughter attracted the attention of a gallant officer of the army, in command of Fort Hamilton, and was united to him in marriage. This young officer was William Henry Harrison, who after a life of patriotic public service, had his dying eyes closed by the wife of his youth in the Executive Mansion of the United States at Washington. Timothy Symmes, a brother of John C., was an active man in the Revolution, and a Judge of our Courts. He was the father of John Cleve Symmes, Jr., whose novel theory that the earth, like an eviscerated pumpkin, was hollow—that its interior was habitable, and that an orifice to enter this terrestrial ball would undoubtedly be found at the north pole—attracted great attention throughout the United States some thirty years ago, more especially as a very eloquent lawyer named Reynolds, became a convert to Symmes's views, and made addresses in support of their soundness in all our principal cities. Poor Symmes wearied out his existence in a vain effort to procure means for fitting an expedition to explore the inner portion of the shell of the earth; he gained however, more kicks than coppers, and only succeeded in furnishing a theme for the wits of the land to exercise their waggyery upon. "Symmes's Hole" not only figured in newspapers, but grog-shops bore it upon their signs with various devices to illustrate it. One I recollect, was the representation of a hollow watermelon, with a tiny mouse peeping out of the orifice at its polar extremity, to see if Symmes's Expedition had yet "hove in view."

Capt. Joseph Harker, another member of the Committee of Safety, was in active service, and distinguished himself at the battle of Laxawaxon, as it was originally designated, but which is now more generally known as the battle of Minisink. As the circumstances connected with this bloody conflict are of direct interest to our citizens, it will be necessary to go somewhat into detail. The Minisink country which, in the war of 1756, was peculiarly exposed to Indian hostilities, continued to be in the war of the Revolution a favorite theatre for the Indians to display their ferocity. That ill-fated region suffered greater calamities from the irruptions of the savages in the struggle for American Independence than it did when first subjected, some twenty years previously, to the merciless sway of the tomahawk and scalping-knife. This last terrible infliction they would have been spared,

had not the British Government allied itself with the Indians, and urged them on to massacre the settlers—to spare neither age nor sex, but to riot in indiscriminate butchery. There is scarcely a family in all that beautiful scope of country but can trace its connection with some one or more victims to that infernal compact between the English Ministry and the American savages; and never, until the human intellect shall be incapable to transmit from sire to son the story of unexpiated wrong, will the British name in that quarter cease to be loathed and execrated. No Christian nation ever sullied its escutcheon with so foul and dastardly a crime as Great Britain did when she sent forth the untameable red men of our forests to slaughter the women and children upon our frontiers. The first bloody proofs which the dwellers on the borders of the Delaware had of this atrocious alliance, was in 1777, when a party of savages slaughtered two or three families north of the Navarsink, and then crossed into Montague, where they tomahawked a family named Jobs, and next attacked the dwelling of Capt. Abraham Shimer, who by the assistance of three or four negro servants, and by the indomitable resistance which he himself made, compelled them to retire. In a few days after, they returned, and captured a Mr. Patterson and his two small boys; but Mr. Patterson managed to escape, when near the borders of Canada, and after enduring incredible hardships, at last found his way back.*

* “Mr. Patterson, being carelessly guarded, while a prisoner, had several opportunities of escaping, but as he hoped to save his sons, he continued with the Indians until within one day’s journey of the Niagara frontier, where he was confident a cruel death awaited him. In the night, while the Indians were asleep, he took two horses, which they had stolen from him, and escaped. The second day, being without food, he killed one of them. The other, alarmed at the scent of blood, broke loose, and Mr. Patterson, going in pursuit, not only lost him, but was unable to find the spot where his slaughtered companion lay. In the course of this day he heard the Indians yelling in pursuit. He, however eluded them, and traveled on by the sun for five days, without any food except buds and roots, and a snake and a toad he had killed. When he arrived at the head waters of the Susquehanna. There he crooked a pin for a hook, and attaching it with a worm at the end of a line made of the bark of slippery elm, caught five fish and ate them raw. This appeased his hunger, and gave him strength to construct a rude raft, on which he floated down to the Wyoming settlements, and from thence returned home. The sons were adopted by the Indians, became domesticated among them, and thoroughly savage in their habits. Elias, the younger, when a man, returned to Montague, and married, still retaining many of his Indian customs. Here he resided until 1838, when he and his wife left for the Tuscarora Reservation.”—*Ilist. Coll.*, pp. 470, 471.

Rhice Nicholas, Esq., of Flanders, Morris county, communicates to me an Indian adventure, which he derived from S. P. Hull, Esq., of Morristown. It appears that about the period Patterson was captured, three Indians, after lying in wait for some time, succeeded one moonlight night in taking Major Van Campen, of Wallpack, prisoner. I think his name was Moses, a son of Judge Abraham Van Campen, and consequently he belonged to a family whom the savages had been taught to stand in dread of.

Their object was to take him to the head waters of the Susquehanna, and there murder him by lingering torture. They pinioned his arms, and two led him, while the third guarded him with rifle and tomahawk, the others also being armed in the same way. At night they compelled him to lie down with his elbows tied to his back, one of his captors, reposing on each side of him, and the other standing guard. It so happened, however, that all three of the Indians fell asleep, when Van Campen by a desperate exertion of muscular power burst his fetters assunder, and, quick as thought, seized a tomahawk and killed two of the sleeping savages. The other awoke and, springing to his feet, ran for his life. Van Campen hurled the tomahawk after him, with such sure aim that it struck him on the shoulder and stuck fast, the Indian not attempting to withdraw it until he was well out of sight. Van Campen gathered up the rifles and other accoutrements of the fallen Indians, and returned safely to his friends.

Van Campen subsequently removed to Alleghany county, N. Y., and Mr. Hull some

His two children remained with the Indians, grew up to manhood among them, and adopted their mode of life. These events opened a field for the employment of our local militia; and the valley of the Delaware was the scene for two or three years of active service. Among the officers who commanded in this region, and who by their efficiency protected our State so well that the savages confined their atrocities almost exclusively to those portions of Minisink lying in New York and Pennsylvania, were Colonels Hankinson and Seward, Majors Meeker and Westbrook, and Captains Cortright, Harker, Shafer, Beckwith, Rosenkrantz, Bockover, Winter and Hover. The block-houses in the "three river townships" stretching from the Water Gap to Carpenter's Point, were furnished with men to defend them, and scouting parties were kept almost constantly in motion. Brandt, the Mohawk Chief, who bore the commission of a British colonel, in the autumn of 1778, after carrying fire and slaughter through the valley of Wyoming, appeared in the Minisink country at the head of about one hundred Indians and Tories, but he confined his atrocities to the settlements north of the Jersey boundary line, murdering a few families* there, and then returning to the confines of Canada. In July, 1779, he re-appeared with a larger force, and dividing it into small detachments, accomplished in a few days a horrible amount of pillage and massacre, the principal sufferers being the settlers on the borders of the Navarsink river. A number of the inhabitants who were assembled to bury a deceased neighbor were suddenly attacked just as they were bearing the corpse from the door of the house, by a party of Indians who had lain in ambush, and several were brutally murdered. Jeremiah Van Auken, a schoolmaster, was dragged from his school, and slaughtered in the presence of the children assembled there, and the little ones would also have been indiscriminately tomahawked, had not Brandt himself appeared, and by a sudden impulse of humanity, interfered and saved the major portion of them.† This Brandt was the son of a Ger-

thirty years ago, settled there also and edited a newspaper. He became acquainted with Van Campen as a Jerseyman, and also formed an intimacy with an old Indian in the vicinity, whom he understood had in his early days resided near the Jersey frontier on the Delaware. Mr. Hull introduced Van Campen to the Indian, and he turned out to be the same person that had runaway with the tomahawk sticking in his shoulder—in proof of which he showed Hull and Van Campen the scar made by that weapon. Thenceforth the two old enemies became warm friends, and so continued until Van Campen died.

* They first fell upon the family of Mr. Westfall, and killed one man. They next attacked the house of Mr. Swartwout, who was at home with his sons, the women having been removed to the fort. They all endeavored to escape, but one of the sons was shot down between the house and barn. Another ran to the river half a mile off, swam it, and was shot near the opposite shore. The father, an old man, and two of his other sons assisting him ran on together, but finding that they would soon be overtaken, the father told his son James, a very active, strong man, to run and save himself, which he did. The Indians pursued him half a mile over fences and across lots, when he gained the fort, and they gave up the chase. The father and the other son were soon overtaken and despatched.—*Eager's Hist. of Orange county*, p. 386.

This same James Swartwout, some ten months afterward, happened to be in Van Etten's blacksmith shop, when the Indians suddenly came in sight. He crawled up the chimney, and remained there undetected, although the savages made a pretty thorough search of the premises.

† Some of the boys in the school were cleft with the tomahawk; others fled to the woods for concealment from their bloody assailants; while the little girls stood by the slain body of their teacher bewildered and horror struck, not knowing their own fate, whether death or captivity. While they were standing in this pitiful condition,

man by a Mohawk squaw, and received a Christian education at Dartmouth College. It is not improbable that when he saw this array of youthful pupils, old memories of boyhood crowded his mind, and constrained him to stay the hand of slaughter. James Vanauken, an uncle of Jeremiah, was killed about the same time at his "fort," in what was called "the lower neighborhood," on the Navarsink. His place had been attacked by a band of Indians, whom he repulsed, and their firing ceased. To satisfy himself, however, that they had decamped, he ascended to the roof, and was taking a survey of the field, when an Indian, who lay concealed, discharged his rifle with fatal effect, and he fell a corpse. About the same period the inhabitants generally attended the funeral services of one of their number at the Mahackenack Church, "and when the procession was leaving it for the burying ground, (says the Rev. P. Kanouse,) the Indians came down upon their settlement, and, before they had time to reach their homes, the flames of the church gave signs of their narrow escape, and the smoke of their mills, barns, and houses, foreshowed the doom of Navarsink. Some of the whites—the number is unknown—were massacred in the most merciless manner; others, and among them mothers with their children in their arms or by their sides, fled to thickets, swamps and standing grass, for concealment and safety." These and many other atrocities, which I have not time to recount, were committed in the brief space of two or three days, and by the morning of the 20th July, 1779, the inhabitants had almost to a man fled from the settlement. Col. Tustin, of Goshen, who received on the evening of that day, an express acquainting him with the calamities which had been inflicted upon the Navarsink region, summoned the officers of his regiment, with all the men they could gather, to rendezvous next day at Minisink. They promptly attended, and Major Meeker and Capt. Harker, of the Sussex militia, with a number of men under their command, also appeared on the ground. A consultation was forthwith held. The enemy, it was then reported, was 500 strong, 200 of which were Tories painted so as to resemble Indians, and the whole under command of Col. Brandt. It was consequently thought by Col. Tustin inadvisable, with the small force then assembled, to pursue the Indian invaders. But Maj. Meeker, a bold and resolute man, but of rash and impetuous disposition, mounted his horse, and, drawing his sword, exclaimed "Let the brave men follow me—cowards may stay behind!" This energetic language decided the question, and the concourse, falling into military order, marched in pursuit of the enemy, and at a distance of seventeen miles from the place of rendezvous halted for the night. On their march, Col. Hathorn, of Warwick, with a small detach-

a strong muscular Indian suddenly come along, and with a brush dashed some black paint across their aprons, bidding them "hold up the mark when they saw an Indian coming and it would save them;" and with the yell of a savage, plunged into the woods and disappeared. This was Brandt, and the little daughters of the settlers were safe. The Indians, as they passed along and ran from place to place, saw the black mark, and left the children undisturbed. The happy thought, like a flash of lightning, entered these little sisters, and suggested that they should use the mark to save their brothers. The scattered boys were quickly assembled, and the girls threw their aprons over the clothes of the boys, and stamped the black impression upon their outer garments. They, in turn, held up the palladium of safety as the Indians passed and repassed, and these children were thus saved from injury and death to the unexpected joy of their parents.

ment of men, joined them. They encamped on the same ground which the Indians and Tories had occupied the night before. Here evidences were visible that the force of the enemy was full as great as had been represented; and again Col. Tustin advised against proceeding further without increasing their numbers by re-inforcements. In this council, Col. Hathorn, who was his senior, and who had taken command of the expedition, entirely concurred. But Meeker, by an appeal to the courage of the party assembled, similar to that made by him in the outset, overturned all dissuasive arguments, and the interception and attack of the Indians was resolved upon at all hazards. On the morning of the 22d the march was resumed, and in a few hours, our troops being on the hills which skirt the Delaware, saw the Indians leisurely strolling along near the river, about three-quarters of a mile ahead. Intervening hills and trees, however, soon shut them from sight, and the militia pushed on, intending to attack Brandt opposite the mouth of the Lackawack, where he had forwarded his plunder, and where there was a fording place for crossing the river. But the wily Indian, under cover of the hills, passed to the right, concealed his force in a deep ravine, over which our troops marched without suspicion, and soon he showed himself in the rear. This gave him an opportunity to choose his point of attack. He managed to detach about 50 of our men from the main body, leaving only 80 for him to contend against. These latter he completely surrounded, and exerted all his energies to exterminate. The beleaguered militia, being short of ammunition, reserved their fire, while the circle of the Indians and Tories was rapidly contracting; but when they did discharge their pieces, the precision of their aim told upon the savages with deadly effect. But bravery availed little; for just at the point when Brandt was about to beat a retreat, a failure of ammunition left no other resource for our men than to club their muskets and prepare for a flight. Dr. Wilson, in describing this battle says; "Several attempts to break into our lines had failed, but just as the fire began to slacken, one man who had guarded the north-east angle of the hollow square, and who had kept up from behind a rock, a destructive fire upon the enemy, fell, and the Indian and Tory crew broke in upon our ranks like a resistless deluge." I have authority for saying that the man who thus held the Indians in check was Moses Dewitt, of Wantage, nor did he fall as represented; his musket, by repeated discharges, became too hot for handling, and seeing at a little distance a comrade, who had a gun which he was not using, for he seemed intent only upon sheltering himself from the enemy; Dewitt started to get that unemployed gun; in doing so he exposed his person, and the balls immediately rattled around him like hail; he fled for his life; a number of the enemy pursued him; they fired at him repeatedly; but soon a ravine presented itself; he turned into it, and the Indians fortunately lost his trail. Venturing out as soon as he dared, he laid his course for the nearest block-house; upon reaching the river flat, he overtook two of his comrades, one of whom could not walk, having cut and lacerated his feet by running upon the rough stones and rocks. Dewitt had a canvass jacket, which he took off, rent it in twain, and bound round the man's feet. Still he could not travel; and so, to drag him to as good a place of concealment as could be found without loss of time, and take care of themselves, were their only alterna-

tives, and they fortunately proved effectual. Soon after they reached the fort, a horse was procured, and under cover of night, their crippled comrade was found, and his life saved. Of the eighty men engaged in the action, forty-four were killed in battle, or died of their wounds in the surrounding forest. Col. Hathorn, Maj. Meeker, and Capt. Harker were among the survivors. The bones of the victims were gathered forty-three years after the massacre, and interred at Goshen, where a monument to perpetuate their memory has been erected, with forty-four names inscribed thereon. How many of these patriotic victims belonged to this county I am unable to say. I can speak positively of only three, viz. ; Daniel Talmage, Capt. Stephen Mead and Nathan Wade, although it is not improbable that at least one fourth of the whole were citizens of Sussex. I am particular in mentioning these facts, because the history of this battle, as given by Dr. Willson, in his address at Goshen, on the 22d of July, 1822, upon the occasion of interring the bones of the ill-fated men, does not recognize any other persons than citizens of Orange county as having taken part in the action. Nor does Dr. W. stand alone in thus withholding credit from those to whom credit is due. The share which Sussex is justly entitled to in that memorable display of human bravery, is excluded from view by nearly every writer who has attempted to describe the battle. But fortunately we have upon the judicial records of our county abundant proofs, given under the signatures of Col. Hathorn and others, to warrant us in correcting history on this point. The claim of old Sussex to a participation in the honors as well as the adversities of Minisink, rests upon an impregnable basis. Whatever of glory was won in that sanguinary conflict by the dauntless valor of her sons, is hers by indefeasible right ; and I now protest on her behalf against all the attempts which have been made to rob her of her inheritance. "Let justice be done though the heavens fall."

Soon after the battle of Minisink, Gen. Sullivan was despatched with 4,000 men to chastise the Indian allies of Great Britain. This expedition was completely successful ; he broke up their settlements on the Susquehanna, and drove the Five Nations to the Niagara frontier. They never again made an irruption into the settlements on our north-western borders, and that portion of our county has reposed ever since in uninterrupted security. All traces of those days of calamity have disappeared ; the men who participated in the perilous encounters which now live in our fire-side memories, have also passed away ; and their possessions, which were literally baptized in fire and blood, are now enjoyed in peace by their children and grandchildren.

I have little more to add to the Revolutionary annals of Sussex. She honored the drafts made upon her from time to time for men and means, during the struggle for Independence. But the names of those who responded to the calls of their country have not been preserved. Besides the officers already mentioned, I may add that Col. Kennedy and Col. Gardiner both commanded regiments of the Sussex militia, and Majors Robert Hoops, Abm. Besherrer and Thos. Dunn were likewise in active service. I have reasons for believing that a regiment of Sussex militia, under Col. John Rosenkrantz, accompanied Gen. Sullivan in his campaign against the Five Nations. One battalion of this regiment, led by Major Samuel Westbrook,

had an engagement with a party of Indians on the 19th of April, 1780, in which Capt. Peter Westbrook was killed.

In the year 1780, on the 4th day of July, the ladies of Trenton, "emulating" (to use their own language,) "the noble example of their patriotic sisters of Pennsylvania, and being desirous of manifesting their zeal in the glorious cause of American Liberty," assembled, and took measures to open a general subscription throughout New Jersey, "for the relief and encouragement of those brave men in the Continental Army, who, regardless of danger, have so repeatedly suffered, fought and bled in the cause of virtue and their oppressed country." They appointed ladies in every county in the State to receive and forward donations. Those who were deputed to act in Sussex county, were Mrs. Robert Ogden, Jr., of Hardyston; Mrs. Mark Thompson, of Hardwick; Mrs. Robert Hoops, of Oxford; and Mrs. Thomas Anderson, of Newton, "whose known patriotism" (says the circular of appointment,) "leaves no room to doubt of their best exertions in an undertaking so humane and praiseworthy."

I mention this incident to show that the women of the Révolution took an active part in securing the liberty of the country. Their exertions in the cause were unobtrusive, yet none the less effective. It was appropriate that the men should take that position in the great struggle, which made their services conspicuous; but it is not appropriate, nor just, in us, their descendants, to overlook and forget the mothers of the land in paying the tribute of gratitude which we owe to our fathers. They beheld husband, father, brother, son, go forth to battle; yet they complained not, nor allowed the great deprivations which they endured to prostrate their energies. As a general rule, they rose superior to adversity. Besides discharging the household duties to which they had been accustomed, they cheerfully went forth to the fields and successfully performed those hardy tasks which in civilized communities are properly imposed upon masculine muscles. Just listen a moment to a paragraph which is extracted from a newspaper, dated July 25, 1776:

"We hear from New Jersey and Connecticut, that a great part of the men being absent on military service, and the time of harvest coming on, the women, assisted by the elderly men whose age rendered them unfit for the army, have so effectually exerted themselves, that they have generally got in their harvest completely, the laudable example being set by the ladies of the first character in each place. And we are credibly informed that many of them have declared that they will take the farming business upon themselves, so long as the Rights and Liberties of their country require the presence of their Sons, Husbands and Lovers in the field."

After such testimony as this to the patriotic manner in which the females of the Revolution deported themselves, I need not add anything further than to remark that the women of Sussex, in self-denial, in patient endurance, and in the display, when needed, of truly heroic qualities, were excelled by none in the land. Here they have been known to take up the rifle to defend themselves against the Indians, or to mount the fleet charger and ride for miles through the wilderness, amid storm and darkness, to summon aid when danger was impending. Such were your mothers, citizens of

Sussex—women who possessed all the tenderness of feeling, all the shrinking modesty which becomes the sex; but who scorned, as all right-minded females ought to scorn, that contemptible affectation of timidity which shrieks to see a spider crawl and swoons at the sight of a mouse.

I have thus, fellow-citizens, dug from the grave of the past a few facts and incidents illustrative of the early history of this county. I have groped darkly through your buried annals, picking up here and there a fragment, which, however imperfect in itself, may yet possess great relative significance. The comparative anatomist needs only a tooth, a claw, or scale, to enable him to give you an outline of the beast, bird, or fish which it prefigures; and I persuade myself that I have placed before you sufficient remnants of the early history of your county, to serve as the basis of a tolerably clear conception of the form and lineaments of Ancient Sussex.

What events have transpired, and what progress in the arts of life has been made since the Revolutionary era, neither my time nor your patience will allow me to describe. Suffice it to say, that this county in all national emergencies has remained true to the spirit of 1776. She has never faltered in her patriotism. In the year 1794, two companies of her cavalry volunteered to take part in the Western Expedition against the "Whiskey Boys," as the insurrectionists in Pennsylvania, who undertook to resist by force a tax imposed by Government upon distilleries, were called. One of these companies was commanded by Capt. Abraham Shafer, of Stillwater, and the other by Capt. Cadwallader Evans, then one of the proprietors of the Andover Mine and Furnace, but afterwards a leading citizen of Philadelphia. They were absent from the county three months, and though by the submission of the insurgents, no opportunity had been afforded for "fleshing their maiden swords," they had the satisfaction of being presented at Bedford, Pa., to the immortal Washington—an incident much more gratifying to be dwelt upon in after life, than any event that could have transpired had they been reduced to the sad alternative of shedding fraternal blood. Capt. James Conover, of this county, was also engaged in this service, commanding, I believe, a company in the Regular Army.

In the war of 1812, Sussex county responded to every call made upon her, and sent forth her sons to repel the aggressor, with an alacrity and heartiness worthy of her character and fame. I might dwell at some length upon this manifestation of her patriotism; but it is not essential at this time; there are men around me whose memories comprehend the whole of that glorious period, and who have doubtless by their fire-sides made their children familiar with its history.

In 1765, when the Court House was opened for public business at Newton, there were eight small houses of worship in our county, which altogether did not cost \$3,000; now there are in the same territory ninety-two, valued, with the lands attached, at \$193,800. At the same date there were not more schools in the county than churches; now there are in Sussex and Warren two hundred and thirty-seven, and in addition, several classical academies for young men, and seminaries for young ladies. On the 8th day of January, 1796, the first newspaper was issued in Sussex, entitled the "Farmers' Journal and Newton Advertiser," printed by Elliot Hopkins and William Hustin; but it died in about a year from its birth, for want of sus-

tenance. The county then contained more than 20,000 inhabitants; but our fathers, I am sorry to say, had not yet become a reading people. Now, there are in Sussex and Warren four* flourishing newspapers, although the population has only increased, since 1796, about 100 per cent. Well patronized journals are only found in those communities where intelligence and enterprise abound. There is no surer test of general thrift than this. The presence of a newspaper in a family is a proof that the seeds of education have been sown therein; and where education has germinated, good fruit, with rare exceptions, is the product.

In a former portion of my rambling and discursive remarks, I touched upon the subject of Agriculture. This pursuit is the most ancient, the most important, and the most useful of human arts and avocations; and it has from the beginning, in this county, been the main stay of our prosperity. In the first settlements made upon our soil, a mere subsistence appeared to be all that was aimed at, and little produce was raised beyond what was consumed upon the spot. Farming implements were few, and of rude construction, and the ground was scratched rather than cultivated. The land was natural to grass; and cattle, which could be driven to market, when roads were nearly unknown, were almost the only articles of exportation.† When mills began to be erected, grain in small quantities became a merchantable commodity, the millers being the forwarders. Indian corn, for many years after the settlement of our county, was not cultivated. Probably, as late as 1780, there were not five acres devoted to this useful product in our whole county.‡ Timothy and clover, which now form so important an element of our prosperity, were introduced at even a later date. There are men now present who can recollect when these grasses first made their appearance here. The chief improvements in agriculture have been made within fifty years; and what a change has thereby been wrought among us, not only in physical comforts, but in moral and intellectual wealth. Schools have sprung up everywhere, and churches have multiplied, just in proportion as agricultural improvement has enhanced the general prosperity.

* The "Sussex Register" was established in the year 1813, by John H. Hall, who is still its proprietor; the "Belvidere Apollo," (now called the "Belvidere Intelligencer,") was first issued in 1824, by Charles Sitgreaves, and is now published by A. C. Hulzhizer; the "New Jersey Herald" was established in 1828, by Grant Fitch, and is now published by V. M. Drake; and the "Warren Journal" was established in 1882, by John S. Brown, and is now published by Wm. H. Heminover.

† In early days, horseback riding was a universal accomplishment—the females being quite as expert as the males in managing the spirited steed. Old and young travelled in this way, as well when paying a visit a few miles off, as when taking a journey. The wives and daughters of those farmers who could afford it, had riding horses for their especial use. Seventy years ago, in what is now the heart of our county, wagons for farming purposes were almost unknown. Grain was generally carried in the winter, on sleds, to those points where millers or merchants purchased it. The precursors of wagons for agricultural operations, were ox-carts, of rude construction, with wheels sawed from large butts, having holes made in their centres to receive the axle. About 40 years ago, the chair and gig were introduced and used, until the light four-wheeled carriage appeared, and entirely superseded them.

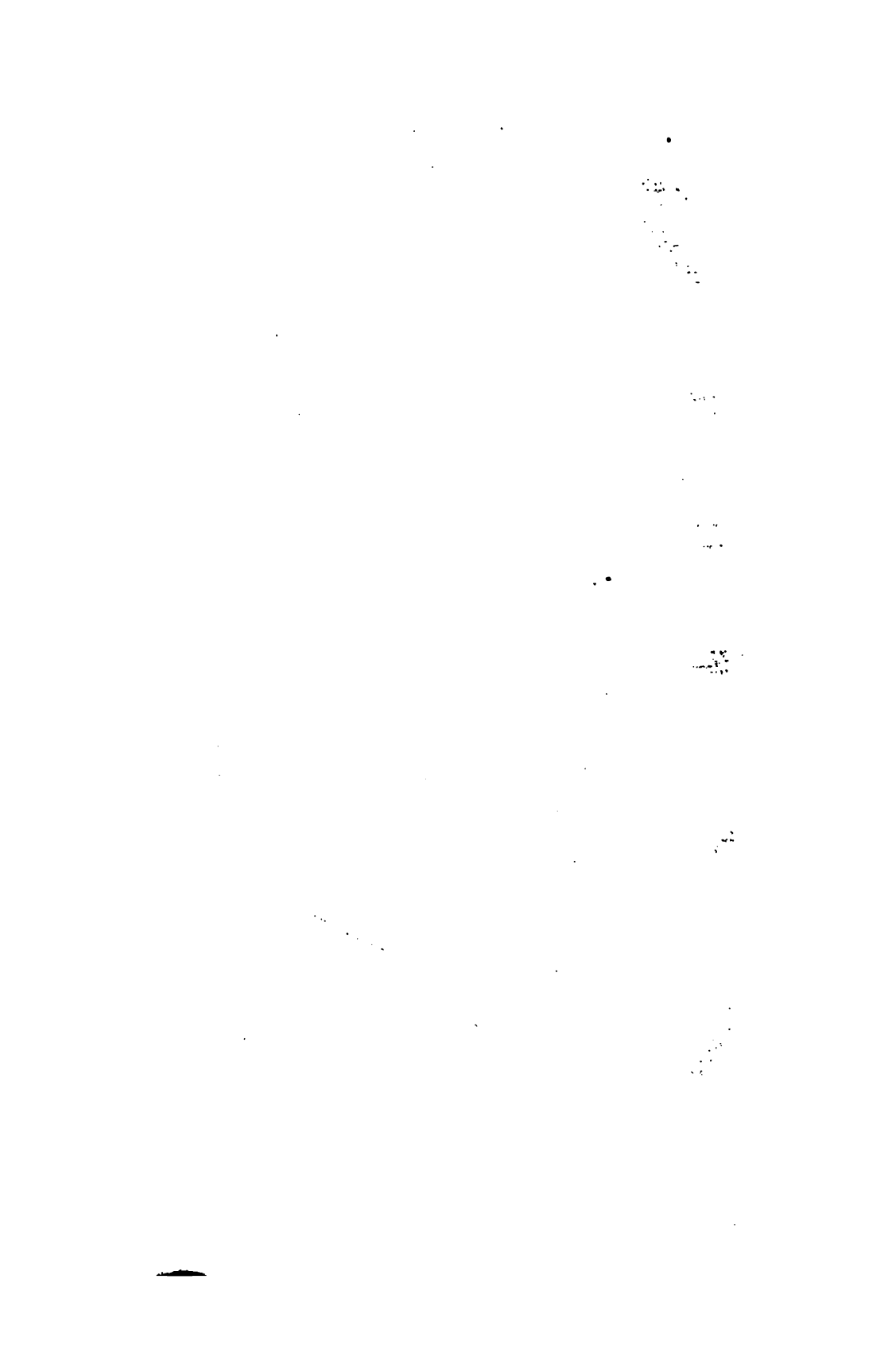
‡ The late Thomas Armstrong, Esq., who emigrated to Sussex from Middlesex county, first became acquainted with this section of the State by bringing Indian corn hither and exchanging it for wheat. He followed this business as late as the year 1784, at which time, to the best of his knowledge, Indian corn was not cultivated here. It was the universal belief of Sussex farmers seventy years ago, that it was too cold in this mountainous region for that grain to mature.

Lands hidden by stones or submerged by stagnant waters have been cleared and drained, and made fruitful; and, as if to furnish conclusive proof of the sympathy between matter and mind, the rank weeds and pestilent mists of ignorance have at the same time been removed from the popular intellect, and the fructifying light and air of knowledge been freely admitted. And yet, friends and fellow-citizens, though much has been done, much more remains to be accomplished. Perfection is not yet reached. The full powers of our soil—the aggregate production of which our county is capable—have never been tested. Agriculture, I may say, is yet in its infancy among us. We stand now upon the threshold of a new era. One hundred years have passed since our county was carved out of a comparative wilderness, and when we look upon what it now is, and imagine what it has been, we feel that a mighty work has been wrought. But the next century will exhibit still mightier results. The iron horse now stands impatient upon our borders, and soon he will be in our midst, to be followed in a brief period by the magnetic telegraph—that wonderful agent of modern enterprise, that most astonishing contrivance of American ingenuity, which freights the lightning with the treasures of thought, bestows upon it the gift of speech, and causes it to pursue defined currents, the obedient vassal of the human will. Good roads, convenient access to the marts of commerce, and certainty and celerity of transportation, are the accessories of agricultural prosperity. These we have never yet had, but they are now at hand. For want of them, large tracts of our soil have not yet been brought into use, nor have those portions which have long been under cultivation been made to yield with the profusion of which they are susceptible. But the power of steam, which annihilates distance and brings remote communities into harmonious proximity, is soon to be exerted for our benefit, and a market for our commodities will be placed at our very doors. Then will our waste places be speedily reclaimed, our vacant lands be occupied, and all the latent fertility of our soil be fully developed. Instead of nine hundred tons of butter and three thousand tons of pork, we will produce double that amount per annum, realizing therefrom not much short of a million and a half dollars; the number of cattle raised and fattened for sale will be greatly augmented, with a proportionable remuneration; the flocks of sheep upon our hills will be multiplied, materially enhancing our wealth, as well by their fleeces as their flesh; milk, young calves, poultry, eggs, honey, potatoes, &c., now regarded as comparatively of little value, will then be worthy of attention, and become sources of income to the annual amount of thousands of dollars; our surplus stores of grain will not then be frittered away or wasted, yielding us no appreciable increase, but the returns will be felt in the replenishment of our coffers; our fruit trees, now producing a surplus almost entirely profitless, will then bear a burden which may be advantageously disposed of; every thing, in short, required for the sustenance or luxury of man, which is indigenous to our soil and location, or susceptible of acclimation, not forgetting the luscious berries, the fruit of the chestnut, hickory and walnut, and the various medicinal herbs, which yield in their season in spontaneous profusion throughout our limits, may be made sources of gain; the timber and bark of our forests, too, with the wild game that

inhabits the tangled wood, will form prominent items in the estimate of our possessions, and add largely to the individual and general prosperity of our citizens.

But this summary of the resources of our county only points to the abundance that is, and may be, gleaned from the surface of the earth; while the treasures which lie beneath—our inexhaustible mines of the best qualities of iron ore; our vast beds of zinc and Franklinite, more valuable than the coveted “placers” of California; our mountains of the finest limestone; our quarries of marble; our endless layers of the best slate; our rich deposits of marl; our vast beds of meadow muck, susceptible of ready conversion, by cheap scientific processes, into the very fertilizing material which our lands most need to be assimilated with—all fountains whence millions of wealth may be made to flow—are not taken into the account. Include the latter, however, and we apprehend that there are few sections of country whose resources, actual and latent, more imperiously require the power of steam to aid and stimulate them. Give us the modern facilities of intercourse—let us have for our bulky products and commodities a cheap, rapid and uninterrupted transit to the cities of the sea-board—exempt us from the ruinous rates of freight upon all that goes *out* or comes *in* to the county, upon all that we sell and a large portion of what we consume—and a spirit of activity will be awakened, compared with which the present plodding for a livelihood will appear as a snail-like apathy. Give us the advantages which our position and resources require, and our county will rapidly advance to the high destiny which should be attained by one so peculiarly blessed by that Being, who has made her vales fertile to exuberance, filled the bowels of her hills with treasures too vast to be computed, vouchsafed an unwonted share of salubrity to her atmosphere, crowned her highest mountains with trees and verdure, gemmed her surface with crystal lakes, crossed and divided it by silvery rills and rivulets, and so disposed of her scenery as to represent every form of rural beauty and sublimity, and to impart to the higher qualities of the intellect and to the moral sense, those emotions of admiration and gratitude which prompt to deeds of benevolence, foster the spirit of patriotism, and incite to virtuous actions.

When another hundred years shall be added to the age of our county, he who now speaks, and all who hear him, will rest beneath the clods of the valley. Even the names of most of us will have faded away from the memory of men. But let us all act well our parts—let us be just to ourselves, and mindful at the same time of the welfare of those who are to come after us—and our works, our improvements, our displays of public spirit, will live and honor us, even though our individual histories shall be forgotten. The fame of few men survives beyond the third generation; for society is progressive, and much more disposed to pry into the future than dwell upon the past. Let us then leave our names to perish when they may, discarding all morbid longings for the applause of posterity, do our duty upon earth manfully, and by a virtuous life and conduct strive to secure that incorruptible inheritance which shall outlast the memory of the greatest of human achievements, and endure when pillared fame, pyramid and cenotaph shall crumble to dust, and even the “flaming bounds of time and space” be swallowed up in eternity.



POPULAR RIGHTS IN NEW JERSEY

PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION.

Delivered on the occasion of the CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION at Newton, Sussex County, N. J., October 5th, 1853.

BY REV. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, OF ROCKAWAY, N. J.

LET me thank you, fellow citizens of Sussex county for the courtesy which you have extended to a comparative stranger, in permitting me to address you on an occasion so marked in your history. The kindness which has invited me here to-day, will render any apology from me unnecessary for accepting an appointment for which many of your own citizens have very superior qualifications, both on account of their literary acquirements and their accurate knowledge of your past history. I will not blame them for apparent undutifulness to their native county, of which they have just reason to be proud, but will only ask your pity for myself, and your lenient judgment of what I may say.

And here is the main difficulty of the case, but one which you have no reason to regret. Some weeks after the acceptance of your appointment, were devoted to the search after materials, and the self complacent idea began to take possession of my mind that I had tracked out some things which the people of Sussex might desire to learn, when I ascertained that my able colleague was on the same field, with superior facilities and praiseworthy zeal; picking up your history from county records, garret lumber, and, better than all, from your intelligent old people. This news produced two very opposite feelings in my mind. The one was a sense of personal relief that this work had fallen into such competent hands, and that you would get something worthy of this occasion. The other was very much such a sensation as you may suppose a man would have if suddenly thrown out of a balloon, his slender foundation gone, and himself sinking earthward with a rapidity quite uncomfortable. Under these circumstances I am sure you will indulge me in taking a less restricted range than might seem altogether appropriate to a local celebration like this. If "necessity is the plea of tyrants," it also is the common plea of scholars, and whether it be a valid one for me at this time must be left to your candor and generosity.

When Gov. Morris, in 1789, wrote to his friend, Sir Chas. Wager, "Time may discover great events," a revolution was progressing in this continent concerning which he might have said with a wider application than to the petty troubles of a single badly governed province, "what will be the issue of it I can't say; the politics are too finely spun for my old eyes to form a judgment of."* The American Revolution was then passing through the incipient stages of its being. The seed corn of popular rights was now putting forth "first the blade;" the not distant future was to bring forth "the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." The great historian of America has said, "The eternal flow of existence never rests, bearing the human race onwards through continuous change. Principles grow into life by informing the public mind, and in their maturity gain the mastery over events; following each other as they are bidden, and ruling without a pause." "In America the influences of time were moulded by the creative force of reason, sentiment and nature. Its political edifice rose in lovely proportion, as if to the melodies of the lyre. Peacefully and without crime, humanity was to make for itself a new existence." "The authors of the American Revolution avowed for their object the welfare of mankind, and believed that they were in the service of their own and of all future generations. Their faith was just; for the world of mankind does not exist in fragments, nor can a country have an insulated existence."†

The part which the larger provinces bore in that Revolution has received ample attention, but New Jersey and her people from the first were moved by the same "gentle breast" which bore onward "the ship of destiny, freighted with the fortunes of mankind." And in the celebration of an event like this, which carries us back to the premonitory throes which preceded the birth of a nation, "the glory of all lands," may we not be justified in plucking at least one laurel leaf and weaving it into that fadeless crown which history has decreed to our own patriot fathers? The historians of Rome were constrained to utter the classic falsehood of a divine origin to their Romulus in order to hide the infamy of his parentage, but we as Americans look with a just pride to our ancestors, protestants against civil and religious tyranny; honest men who feared God, and who were willing to endure all pains but those of conscience, to possess a land where they and their children should have "freedom to worship God." Unlike the Spaniards who followed Cortez and Pizarro into the halls of the Montezumas and the Incas, under the inspiration of a bloody avarice, our fathers fled from tyrants. Freedom and not gold, was the price they coveted, and when tyranny pursued them across the ocean, it was met at the shore by as warm and brave a patriotism as ever burned in human breast. Nor does this honor belong solely to those brave men who stood with John Winthrop and Miles Standish on Plymouth rock, or to those who owned the sway of the intrepid John Smith, the greatest of American pioneers, or to those who yielded no reluctant assent to the pious philanthropy of William Penn, or to the honest and brave Dutchmen who took possession of the Hudson. New Jersey claims an honorable share in the glories of all these, and from the very first landing of her settlers at Communipaw, at Elizabethtown, at Newark, at Burlington, the spirit of genuine de-

* Papers of Gov. Lewis Morris, pp. 45, 69. † Bancroft's U. S., vol. iv, pp. 4, 5, 6.

mocracy may be traced in all their deeds, and when the glorious "time which tried men's souls" was fully come, the men of New Jersey staked all they had on the issue, with a magnanimity and an unquestioning faith, which are their letters patent to that nobility which the Mayflower brought to these shores.

Nor was the growth of free principles in this State left merely to the constitutional predilections of its people. In the order of Providence the soil was ceded to certain Proprietors by Royal grants, and the government of the Province was rendered odious to the people by the narrow views and the not unfrequent avarice and oppression of men sent to do the bidding of their masters. Here was a claim founded on a grant, the justice of which the people could not see, and which they would not recognize. The power which sought to govern them they saw to be "divided among speculators in land, who as a body had gain and not freedom for their end." The sense of wrong begot the desire for the right, and the Revolution was begun.

I was speaking of the growth of feeling concerning popular rights in New Jersey. When this Province was only nine years old, having had a Proprietary Governor less than seven years (1672,) a dispute concerning the rights of the Proprietaries and the people, resulted in the actual expulsion of Gov. Carteret from the Province, and the choice of his successor by the people.* Various attempts were made by the Proprietors to coerce and coax the people into their measures, but in vain. "For twelve years," says Mr. Bancroft, "the whole Province was not in a settled condition," and "from June, 1689, to August, 1692, East Jersey had no Government whatever;"† but this was not quite true. The Proprietary Government was of little force during that period, yet the people by their own will did perform all the acts necessary to regulate their own internal affairs.‡ In these movements, Chalmers, a historian who does not sympathize with popular rights, could see only a factious and rebellious spirit in the Colonies. His intelligence ought to have opened his eyes to the deep under-current of freedom, which was silently, like a decree of destiny, moving on to the glory of 1776.

In 1702, the Proprietary Government expired, and was succeeded by one of royal appointment. Previous to this event, the Province was rent by faction until it was represented to the Home Government "as being without law and gospel, having neither Judge nor Priest."§ In 1702, Lord Cornbury came to New Jersey as its first Royal Governor, and he says very curtly that he found the people "prone enough to throw off all government." In fact, so well had their previous contests trained them, that they use very singular language for that age in their first address to the Governor, in professing their willingness to "support any one who does not invade their liberties; though they thought no consideration obliged them to support oppression." And as if to show that words were the signs of ideas, about this time, according to Chalmers, the Grand Jury indicted the Chief Justice, President of the Council and the Attorney General, for acting contrary to

* Chalmers' Hist. Am. Colonies, vol. 1, p. 120.

† U. S., vol. 3, p. 47.

‡ Whitehead's East Jersey under the Proprietors, p. 130.

§ Chalmers 1, p. 376.

law! The stern spirit of freedom, which rocked England when Hampden lived, and which brought a King to the scaffold, was agitating the souls of freemen in New Jersey; and it triumphed in the recall of Lord Cornbury, between whom and the representatives of the people occurred some scenes worthy of study.* The onward march of freedom was well exhibited in a remonstrance which was made by the General Assembly of the Province in 1707, against the aggressions of Lord Cornbury on the rights of the people whom they represented. The remonstrance was read by Samuel Jennings, of West Jersey, and Speaker of the Assembly. It rehearses with great particularity every infringement on popular rights, and Mr. Jennings read every sentence with the clearest emphasis. Among these sentences was the following memorable one: "Liberty is too valuable a thing to be easily parted with, and when such mean inducements procure such endeavors to tear it from us, we must say, that they have neither heads, hearts, or souls, that are not moved by the miseries of their country, and are not forward with their utmost power lawfully to redress them." The Governor was greatly excited during the reading of this paper, and frequently interrupted the Speaker with the exclamations "Stop!" "What's that!" whereupon the fearless Jerseyman would humbly beg the privilege of reading over the obnoxious sentences, "with an additional emphasis upon those the most complaining, so that on the second reading they became more observable than before!" One of the early historians of Pennsylvania described this bold freeman, Samuel Jennings, as being "sharp towards evil doers, but tender and loving to them that did well;" but Lord Cornbury said to his friends, after the remonstrance of the Assembly was read with such provoking and cool emphasis, "that this fellow, Jennings, has impudence enough to face the devil," which showed that he looked at the freeman whose name is our boast, as Haman looked at Mordecai.†

It was not many years after this that Attorney-General Bradley, of New York, wrote thus to Secretary Pope: "I doubt not but the Board will, from their former experience of the Assemblies in this country and the present disposition they seem to be in, plainly perceive that they aim at nothing less than being independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain as fast as they can." This was in January 1727-8. In 1732, Lewis Morris, who, after Gov. Montgomery's death, "exercised the chief authority in New Jersey,"‡ remarked in a letter to the Duke of New Castle, "that the rendering Governors and all other officers entirely dependent on the people is the general inclination of the plantations, and is no where pursued with more steadiness and less decency than in New Jersey."§ This is certainly a compliment to our ancestors which we may regard with not a little pride. Morris was a famous advocate of popular rights, during the earlier part of his public life, but the possession of power seemed to change his sentiments, and from the time of his appointment as Governor of New Jersey in 1738, until his death in 1746, he was made to feel the same inveterate hostility to

* Provincial Courts of N. J., by B. S. Field, pp. 52-70.

† Smith's New Jersey, pp. 233-235.

‡ Papers Gov. Morris, p. 18.

§ Chalmer, vol. ii: p. 158.

tyranny which Jerseymen had displayed so heartily towards his predecessors. In many of his private letters and official documents he describes the disposition of the people "to have the sole direction of all the affairs of the government and to make the Governors and other officers Intirely dependent on themselves, that it requires more temper, skill and Constancy to overcome these difficulties than falls to every man's share : and whether to be done most effectually by driving or leading them is difficult to determine. Each of these," he adds with chagrin, "have succeeded in their turns, and sometimes neither."* He also speaks of their wish to render the Governor "the tool of their purposes." He writes to the Lords of Trade (May 26th, 1739,) concerning the small salary allowed him by the people of New Jersey, and says, "they would persuade me to believe that the smallness of the provision made for me is a mark of their affection and esteem, and that a larger sum and such as would be thought suitable to the station might tempt some man of more interest to obtain the government." And he adds that one of the Assembly, a weaver by trade, gave the true reason for this niggardly conduct—"let us keep the dogs poor, and we'll make them do what we please."†

A more instructive history of progress in the science of popular rights can scarcely be named than the volume of Morris Papers, lately published by the New Jersey Historical Society. It was one man against the many, privilege and prerogative against popular freedom and rights.

It may not be out of place here to state that in 1715, New Jersey contained a population of 21,000 whites and 1,500 blacks, making a total of only 22,500. In January, 1737-8, the census showed a population of 43,388 whites and 3,900 slaves, making a total of 47,288. This last census was taken the year in which Morris county was set off from Hunterdon. The counties of Morris, Sussex and Warren alone contain at the present time, a population larger by one-third than the whole State had one hundred and fifteen years ago, when Morris county, embracing the present territory of those three counties was organized, and named after the newly appointed royal governor.

None You will indulge me also in referring very briefly to the attitude which the principal religious denominations held to popular freedom previous to the Revolution. In 1700 Mr. Lewis Morris, afterwards governor, memorialized the Bishop of London to adopt measures to establish the English Church in the Colony, and recommended for this purpose, among other curious things, that no governor should be sent, but "a firm churchman, and if possible one but churchmen be in his council and in the magistracy;" "that churchmen may have some peculiar privileges above others;" and "that there be some measures fallen upon to get ministers to preach gratis in America for some time, till there be sufficient number of converts to bear the charge." In order to carry out this last design of furnishing the Colony with gratuitous preaching, Mr. Morris recommended that "the king, the archbishops, the bishops, and the great men admit no man for so many years to any great benefice, but such as shall oblige themselves to preach

* Morris Papers, p. 40.

† Morris Papers, p. 49.

three years gratis in America." With such a cause he thought "we shall have the greatest and best men, and in human probability such men must make a wonderful progress in the conversion of these countries, especially when it perceived the good of souls is the only motive to the undertaking."

This memorial describes with considerable minuteness the moral condition of the people. Of West Jersey, he says "they have a very debauched youth in that Province, and very ignorant;" and speaking of "Pensilvania" he says "the youth of that country air like that in the neighboring Provinces very debauched and ignorant." Perhaps Mr. Morris was too fresh from his own youthful eccentricities to give an impartial account of any church or society, yet his account is good evidence that the situation of things was bad enough, if we except a few favored spots like Newark, Elizabethtown Freehold and Woodbridge. But one thing is certain, that to such a growth had the knowledge of popular rights attained in New Jersey, had the sagacious plan of Morris been adopted here, it would have loaded the Episcopal Church with such odium as would have threatened its very existence in the Province. Only churchmen for governors, councilmen, and magistrates! The Puritan and Dutch blood would have boiled over at such an importation of wrong from feudal Europe, and even the Quaker of West Jersey would have said "the Lord rebuke thee," in a way not altogether consistent with his non-resistant doctrine!

How feeble were the beginnings of our religious congregations may be inferred from the statements of Smith the historian in 1765.* Probably all the churches of all persuasions did not then number as many communicants as the churches in the single city of Newark now have! They were small, and their membership generally poor, and yet the growth of popular rights is to be seen in these Churches. This was especially true of the Calvinistic Churches, and also of the Quakers. The historian has well said in speaking of John Calvin, "the enfranchisement of the mind from religious despotism, led directly to inquiries into the nature of civil government; and the doctrines of popular liberty which sheltered their infancy in the wildernesses of the newly discovered continent, within the short space of two centuries have infused themselves into the life blood of every rising State from Labrador to Chili, have erected outposts on the Oregon and in Liberia." "Calvin was the guide of Swiss republics," and "Boston Calvinism ran to seed and the seed was incorruptible."† Right nobly did the early Calvinists of New Jersey realize this high eulogium. So far as I can learn, they seemed from the first to "own no king but the King of heaven; no aristocracy but of the redeemed; no bondage but of the hopeless, infinite, and eternal bondage of sin." Both minister and people asserted the natural rights of men, and resisted the encroachments of feudalism. They expounded popular rights in their meeting houses, and in the sanctuary, and at the family altar invoked the divine blessing on the people in their struggles for freedom. When the Revolution burst the chains of tyranny, John Witherspoon, of Mercer, signed the immortal instrument of an exodus from the house of bondage, Jacob Green, of Morris, wrote as sharply as he preached against despotism, James Caldwell of Essex, accompanied our armies not only to console the

* Smith's N. J., pp. 503-4.

* Bancroft's U. S., i: pp. 267, 268; ii: 468.

dying patriot, but to inspirit the living with the high considerations of eternity, and both Joseph Rosebrough of Sussex, and James Caldwell laid down their lives a sacrifice for freedom, and they were not alone.

Among the Quakers there were some who looked askance at the actual bloodshed of the Revolution, but right certain is it that in all the conflicts of right and might of the people with the aristocracy, of freedom with privilege, which agitated New Jersey for half a century before the Revolution, the followers of George Fox and William Penn took a notable part. They did not fight, but were rather like the Quaker of Uncle Tom's Cabin, who pressed the eager slave-catcher from the precipice down through the tree-top with the emphatic remark, "friend, thee is not wanted here!"

The Quakers were non-resistants, and yet had a good way of getting round their scruples when they perceived it to be necessary. Benjamin Franklin says that the Quaker Assembly of Pennsylvania had a demand made on them for money to buy powder with on the occasion of some threatened invasion, and that they voted £3000 to buy wheat, corn and *other grain!* And on another occasion, the fire company to which Franklin belonged, were solicited to spend their surplus money in buying a cannon for the fort. The Quakers, with one exception, stayed from the meeting, although eight of them informed Franklin that they were ready to come in and vote for it if necessary, but did not wish to do so if the majority could be secured without them. Franklin adds that had the original proposition failed he intended to propose buying a *fire engine*, alleging that a cannon was such an instrument, without dispute.

To their honor let it be said also, that the Established Church had many zealous and distinguished patriots, although there were so many inducements and reasons why they should take the side of the royalists. In their liturgy were found the stated prayers for the royal family, the tendency of which was to link them by a religious bond to the throne. But when the choice was to be made between their country and a foreign king, many of the clergy, and most of the laity joined the patriots, and suspended their prayers for royalty, with the substitution of a nobler petition for their country. In a manuscript letter from the Rev. Mr. Duche, the Episcopal minister who offered the first prayer in the Congress of 1776, to General Washington, he relates the fact that his vestry ordered him to cease praying for the royal family, and I doubt not many other vestries did the same thing. Notwithstanding this admission, the contemporaneous accounts of those days convince me that the clergy of this Church as a body, did not take as firm ground in favor of our Independence as they did after the contest was decided, and the American Protestant Episcopal Church became independent of the English Established Church.

You are aware of the fact, that after independence was declared, the Rev. Mr. Duche took the side of the royalists, and among the papers of the New Jersey Historical Society, I chanced on a letter from him to Gen. Washington, dated Oct. 8th, 1777. It is written to persuade Washington that he ought to abandon the cause of the rebels as hopeless, and one which must be attended with a vast and wicked expense of money and life. He explains the reasons of his compliance with the request of Congress to offer prayer in their hall. When invited, he says he was "surprised and dis-

tressed," but still he complied, looking on "independency rather as an expedient, and a hazardous one, thrown out *in terrorem* to procure some favorable terms, than a measure that was seriously to be persisted in at all events." In this letter he exhorts Washington to look at his associates in this "fatal independency," and says, the members from Pennsylvania "are so obscure, that their very names never met my ears before, and others have only been distinguished for the weakness of their understandings and the violence of their tempers." In this surprising denunciation he excepts only *one*. (Franklin?) He then describes in strong language the weakness of America and the strength of her adversaries, and entreats Washington to relinquish the struggle as hopeless.*

If we examine the subject attentively, it will be found that by some means or other, the religious sentiment of our Jersey fathers, as in New England, was thoroughly enlisted in favor of freedom, and was one of the strongest means of bearing them up in days when no eye but that of religious faith could discover a ray of hope. A very fine illustration of this fact is to be drawn from Mr. Duche's letter just alluded to.

I have already intimated that Gov. Morris, from 1738 to 1756, the entire term of his office, was met with a firm resistance, as a promoter of royalty at the expense of popular freedom. Indeed, so completely was he foiled in one favorite scheme after another, that it quite animates one to read this sentence from his letter to Andrew Johnston, Speaker of the Assembly: "Your account of the *wine* is not a little refreshing, and I am in hopes when this *puzzling affair* is over, we may take a chirruping glass together, and disperse all the clouds and mists about it." Poor Gov. Morris! when he was abused by those in power, he was a thorough popular rights man, but power spoiled him, and he found no such "chirruping glass" as could "disperse the clouds and mists" which popular indignation gathered about him.

* The writer does not introduce the letter of Rev. Mr. Duchè as a reflection on the church of which he was a minister, but to present some of the actual difficulties which the patriots were called to contend with, and which are strongly stated by the man who offered the first prayer in Congress. The writer was not forgetful that Bishop White and Ashbel Green were both men who could offer prayers in Congress without suffixing to that holy business, the treason of a Duchè. The following quotations will throw light on the relations of this church to the cause of patriotism during the Revolutionary War, and do justice to all parties.

"Let not the Protestant Episcopalian forget that Bishop White, 'the father of his church,' was one of the first chaplains of Congress, and invoked as such, the divine blessing on their earliest deliberations; nor let him forget that Washington himself, 'the father of his country,' that great and good man, worshipped at her altars, and attended regularly upon her solemn services. No; let him not forget that while her clergy were thus hampered and distracted from the very nature of their position, her laity in the middle and southern States, lent a most efficient aid in their country's hour of need. Among the stout hearts and true that stood up manfully for their country's rights, who more prominent than Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, and Richard Henry Lee were?"—*Centennial Discourse by Rev. Matthew H. Henderson, Rector of Trinity Church, Newark, N. J.*

"It is true," says a writer in the Literary World of Sept. 23d, 1848, "that as a body the clergy of the Church of England in the Colonies were either neutral in the contest—the case with the greater number—or ranged on the side of royalty; for receiving their ordination from the hands of the prelates of the Established Church—bound to the use of its liturgy, including necessarily the appointed prayers for the King and royal family—and subordinate as they were to the Bishop of London, there was a double allegiance operating in their case to prevent a disruption of the ties which united them to the mother country. But there were among them, nevertheless, many eminent examples of devotedness to the Colonial cause."

It was a battle to the end of his life, and out of every conflict the people came forth without "the smell of fire upon them." When he, in 1778, withstood the tyrant Cesby, he said in a noble letter, "I have been in this office (C. J. of New York) twenty years. My hands were never soiled with a bribe: nor am I conscious to myself, that power or poverty hath been able to induce me to be partial in the favor of either of them; and as I have no reason to expect any favor from you, so I am neither afraid nor ashamed to stand the test of the strictest inquiry you can make concerning my conduct."* And he maintained such an attitude as this, even though dismissed from office, he would have continued a popular favorite, but allying himself as he did to the interests of prerogative against those of the people, the people "raking into the ashes of the dead" wrote on the history of his administration, "*Found Wanting.*" Seeking to stem such a current as that which then swept over this Province, he ought to have had justice on his side, but being unsupported by that, he was carried down the stream like a leaf in spite of his struggles. His fault was one arising from his position rather than intentional wickedness, and right nobly have his descendants atoned for it.†

In 1747, Belcher became governor, and seems to have enjoyed a greater degree of popularity than any other royal governor, not so much on account of his actively espousing the cause of the people as his refraining from open resistance. The same free principles kept evolving themselves, as naturally as the growth of an oak, and even Belcher was compelled to say "I have to steer between Scylla and Charybdis; to please the King's minister at home, and a touchy people here; to luff for one and bear away for another,"‡ and he confessed in the struggle of the people for the lands on which they lived, against the proprietary monopolists, leading to serious riots and gaol deliveries by popular force, that "he could not bring the delegates into measures for suppressing the wicked spirit of rebellion."§ The truth was more and more apparent, that the science of popular rights in New Jersey was a living plant whose inward energies were obeying the divine idea" of free-

* Morris Papers, p. 21.

† If children can atone for the faults of their ancestors certainly the single fault of the royal governor, Lewis Morris has received ample amends in the deeds and spirit of his descendants. Each of the four generations succeeding him, has produced distinguished and patriotic men. In the first generation, may be named Robert Hunter Morris, Lieut. Gov. of Pennsylvania, and afterwards Chief Justice of N. J.

In the second generation, Lewis Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; Robert Morris, Judge of the Admiralty under the Crown, who threw up his office and joined the patriots, and Gouverneur Morris, Minister to France when Louis the XVI was executed.

In the third generation, Staat Morris, Aid to Gen. Green; Jacob Morris, Aid to Gen. Lee; Commodore Richard Morris, who commanded the Frigate New York, and Lewis R. Morris, Aid to Baron Steuben.

In the fourth generation, Capt. Lewis Morris, who was killed in the siege of Monterey; William and Gouverneur Morris, both officers in the Mexican war; Robert W. Rutherford, who represented Sussex county several years in Council; David B. Ogden, the distinguished lawyer of New York city, lately deceased; Robert H. Morris, Recorder of New York, then Mayor, and now Judge of the Supreme Court; Judge Richard R. Morris of Sparta, who represented Sussex county in Council, in 1837-8; Mr. Thomas I. Ludlum, the present Clerk of Sussex county; Judge Walter L. Shee, of Hamburg, and the Lawrence family of Hardyston, who for three generations have been useful and influential citizens of Sussex county.

‡ Bancroft's U. S., iv: p. 142

§ Bancroft's U. S., iv: p. 40.

dom, and that it had already become too deeply rooted to be easily torn up. Even as early as 1752, this was so apparent, that Chalmers remarks with respect to New Jersey, "the levelling principles of the people had led them to reduce all officers to a state of abject subservience; the consequent weakness of authority had promoted rebellious resistance; and the untimely expedients of ministers now gave a triumph to the insurgents which opened new prospects to the ambitious. How seldom do statesmen consider that *a revolution may already have been achieved* while they are yet deliberating with regard to the modes of prevention and redress."*

It is a fact not generally known, that the doctrine asserted by the Colonists, that it was unconstitutional and tyrannical to tax those who were not represented in the body laying the tax, was first asserted in New Jersey, at so early a date as 1680. The people of West Jersey, in their remonstrance against the imposition of duties in that year, announce the following political postulates as needing no proof, viz: "the English right of common assent to taxes;" "the King cannot justly take his subject's goods without their consent." "It were madness," they declared, to leave a free, good, and improved country, to plant in a wilderness; and there adventure many thousands of pounds to give an absolute title to another person to tax us at will and pleasure."†

‡ Here is a fact transpiring, a principle asserted almost a century before the Declaration of Independence which, with other things, proves that that event was not the result of a sudden impulse, but of long seated and growing convictions. Like the river Alpheus, lost for a time, and then found mingling with the fountain of Arethusa, the principle of popular freedom asserted in 1680 might have been lost sight of temporarily, only to break forth from its hidden channel, and mingle its stream with the gushing fountain of popular liberty in 1776.

In 1760, Benjamin Franklin said, in an admirable paper in favor of annexing Canada—a project which was opposed by many on the ground that the growth of the Colonies "may render them dangerous"—"while the government is mild and just, while important civil and religious rights are secure, such subjects will be dutiful and obedient. *The waves do not rise but when the winds blow.*"‡ In this same pamphlet, Franklin made the significant assertion concerning "the fourteen separate governments" in America: "A union among them for such a purpose is not merely improbable, it is *impossible*. * * * * * When I say such a union is impossible, I mean, without the *most grievous tyranny and oppression.*" As early as 1754, this sagacious patriot, in a series of able letters to Gov. Shirley, of Massachusetts, had set forth the feelings of Americans on the right of the British Parliament to tax the Colonies; and he then said "that compelling the Colonies to pay money without their consent, would be rather like raising contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of Englishmen for their own public benefit."§ This grand thought afterward was the staple in one of the most tremendous invectives that ever fell even from the lips of the elder Pitt.

* Chalmer's Am. Coll., ii: p. 223.

† For this fact I am indebted to William A. Whitehead, Esq.

‡ Writings of Franklin, Sparks' edition, vol. iv, p. 42.

§ Writings of Franklin, vol. iii, p. 60.

To use Franklin's figure, "the winds were blowing," and of course "the waves" of American feeling "were rising." The British Government seemed to be blind by the judgment of God. The Attorney-General, in 1760, said to Franklin: "For all what you Americans say of your loyalty and all that, I know you will one day throw off your dependence on this country; and notwithstanding your boasted affection, you will one day set up for independence." "No such idea," replied Franklin, "was ever entertained by the Americans, nor will any such even enter their heads, *unless you grossly abuse them.*" "Very true," rejoined the Attorney-General, "*that is one of the main causes I see will happen, and will produce the event.*"*

Popular rights in the Colonies received the amplest materials on which to grow strong. The stamp act was passed. In Boston, Samuel Adams had already announced that "it is lawful to resist the Chief Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved;" Otis "rocked by the stormy impulses of his fitful passions," had declared that "an act of Parliament against the Constitution is void," and John Adams had said that he could never read certain oppressive acts passed by the Parliament, "nor any section of them without a curse." Some zealous and shrewd patriots at Boston in 1765, had written the following note-worthy letter to the editor of a Boston newspaper: "*Sir, this is neither paper, parchment nor vellum; Query: May not all instruments be wrote on bark, and so avoid stamp duties and yet be valid?* If so, I am ready to supply with good writing bark all those whose consciences are bound by the late act."† The Home Government had "a right to shear the wolf," but in enforcing the unrecognized right they found the animal would bite with a severe good will. Massachusetts found a fitting tongue in James Otis with which to express the feelings which burned in her volcanic heart. Virginia, Massachusetts and New York, as if moved by a common impulse, cursed the Stamp Act as "the folly of England and the ruin of America." In South Carolina the voice of Rutledge was like a trumpet which "gave no uncertain sound," and Christopher Gadsden said proudly, "Massachusetts sounded the trumpet, but to Carolina is it owing that it was attended to."‡ In Connecticut popular rights swept away the Stamp Act as thistle down before the galé. In Maryland, the freemen of Talbot County erected a "gibbet twenty feet high before the Court House door, and thereon hung in chains the effigy of a stamp informer, there to hang *interrorem* till the Stamp Act is repealed."§ In New Jersey the people of Salem had understood that Mr. John Hatton was to be a distributor of stamps, and they compelled him to sign a paper declaring that he had no such intentions, and on no consideration would engage in the business.¶ In Morris County brave old Justice Winds was issuing writs and summons on white birch bark, probably taking the notion from the Boston letter writer. In fact, the work went on right bravely throughout the "Old Thirteen Colonies." Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, wrote to Robert Ogden, afterward a settler in Sussex, "You see the spirit that the Stamp Act has raised through-

* Quincy's Life of Quincy, as quoted by Sparks; Notes of Franklin, vol. i, pp. 878-5.

† New York Gazette, Dec. 16th, 1765.

§ N. Y. Gazette, Dec. 16th, 1765.

‡ Bancroft's U. S., Vol. V., p. 294.

¶ N. Y. Gazette, Dec. 16th, 1765.

out the American Colonies. The people certainly ought to complain when they are oppressed. The unbounded license of some to the eastward ought to be discountenanced by every friend to his country; yet the Stamp Act cannot be extended here but in diametrical opposition to our Constitution; wherefore I am humbly of the opinion that the representatives of the people ought not to be silent, they ought to complain constitutionally. They should complain to the *King*, not to the *Parliament*, whose authority they do not and ought not to recognize." He then urges that the Assembly appoint delegates to the Congress "to be held this fall in New York. If your house does not do it, we shall not only look like a speckled bird among our sister colonies, but we shall say implicitly that we think it no oppression."*

Here you will notice the exceeding sensitiveness of the colonists to the right and the wrong of things. Stockton would not have them petition Parliament, because they had no representatives in that body, but they must petition the King, who reigned over them all. Our Jerseymen of those times were sticklers for their rights, and neither the coarse tyranny of Cornbury, or the more gentle suasions of Belcher, could for one moment put to sleep their vigilance. "I dare tax America," exclaimed the brilliant but hot-headed Charles Townsend, and the bravado was answered by Americans, "and we dare resist you."

Let us pass over the repeal of the Stamp Act, the joyous acclamations of the people, the devout thanksgiving which ascended from the lips of the minister, the illuminations and other signs which showed that the people felt that a great victory had been attained. Popular rights had received an impulse, and the people themselves felt stronger and bolder to maintain them in future. The leaders of the English Government, having eyes saw not, having ears heard not, the warnings which the past was offering them. "I dare tax America!" and in due time the tea tax was laid, only to meet the fate of its odious forerunner, the Stamp Act, only after a more bloody fashion. What New England did in that time we know; but many do not know that so thoroughly had the people of this State become imbued with the spirit of resistance, that hundreds of noble women in all parts of the State refused to buy tea, or in any way to countenance its use. It was an article which, for the best of reasons, the people declared contraband. But why stop to repeat this oft-told story? Why trace the royalist and unworthy William Franklin through all his ineffectual struggles against the rising waves and the heavy sea-swell which finally engulfed him? Let him go, only with the expression of pity that Benjamin Franklin should ever have been about such unworthy business as to beget such a son!

Fellow-citizens, the county of Sussex was born at a stormy period of our history, and it must be not merely entertaining, but important, to trace back its birth to the period when Freedom, like a waking Samson, was beginning to learn how strong she was, and was calling out to the world that a political millenium was at hand. This was the *talking* period of the Revolution, when our Odgens, and Stocktons, and Dickinsons, and Frelinghuysens, and

* Sept. 13th, 1765. Letter of R. Stockton in Proceedings of N. J. Hist. Society. Vol. II, p. 149.

Conditis were reasoning from first principles to ascertain the rights of man. It may be that they saw "men only as trees walking;" but like Samson they seized the pillars on which tyranny rested, and bending their brawny strength with a power resistless, they brought it to the ground. Stamp act, tea tax, Boston port bill, all were like flax threads on a giant's limbs, and the voices of Otis and Henry and Rutledge, uttering the stirring sentiments of popular rights on this side of the Atlantic, found a responsive echo in the words which Chatham and Burke and Barre uttered in the British Parliament. New Jersey was all pervaded with feeling which throbbed in unison with patriotism at Boston and at Charlestown. When the Boston port bill was enforced, Stephen Crane, of Elizabethtown, addressed a letter in behalf of the people of Essex county to certain gentlemen or "anybody else in Monmouth county," in which he speaks of "the late insolent attacks made upon the rights and liberties of the Colony of Massachusetts," and calls on them to meet in a general Convention at New Brunswick, to devise measures of relief.* Edward Taylor,† of Monmouth, writes to Josiah Holmes, of the same county: "We wrote to them (the Bostonians) desiring them *Not to Give up, and if they should want any further supply of Bread, to let us know.*" The Bostonians acknowledge the receipt, from Monmouth county, of "eleven hundred and forty bushels of rye, and fifty barrels of rye meal for the suffering poor of this town." And the brave fellows, after telling of the "harbor clogged with ships of war, our town filled up with six regiments and more coming, the entrance of the town fortified by a strong entrenchment, and cannon pointed against the whole country," use these words, ever memorable as showing how our fathers bore up under their sufferings: "but we are not discouraged; God has done great things for us; He is still keeping, and we trust he will in his own time and way deliver us."‡

If we now retrace our steps a little, we shall find that the General Assembly of this Province in 1755 and 1756 were obliged to pass acts to guard the north-western frontier of Sussex county from the incursions of the Indians "by erecting block-houses and supplying the same with sufficient forces."§ The defenceless situation of the infant county is to be inferred from the diabolical murder of the Swartwout family in 1757, and the fact that when the supposed murderer, Springer, was caught in Essex county, it was deemed unsafe to try him in Sussex county, and a special act was passed by the Assembly for his being tried in Morris county. He was accordingly tried, convicted and executed in Morris county, because, as the act alleges, "the incursions of the Indians, and the commotions thereby occasioned, rendered it difficult if not dangerous to hold a Court of Oyer and Terminer" in Sussex.||

In 1765 the General Assembly passed an act to raise "two hundred pounds to be lent for the relief of the inhabitants of the county of Sussex," to be expended in "purchasing bread corn for the inhabitants of said county."¶ Sussex had not then become the Egypt of New Jersey.

* June 13th, 1774.

† January 17th, 1775.

‡ Proceedings N. J. Hist. Society, vol. i, pp. 184 *et seq.*

§ Neville's Laws N. J., vol. ii, p. 10; and Allison's Laws N. J., p. 208.

|| Allison's Laws N. J., pp. 214, 215.

¶ Allison's Laws N. J., p. 45.

You are already aware of the fact that although this county was organized in 1753, it was not allowed to have representatives in the Colonial Assembly until 1768; but in the mean time the act was passed which gave representatives to Morris, Cumberland and Sussex counties, and the same act allowed the voters, until the bill obtained the King's assent, to appear at Trenton, or wherever the Hunterdon polls might be opened, to vote for the representatives of that county! In December, 1769, a committee of the Assembly wrote on to Franklin, then in London, instructing him as their agent to use means to gain his Majesty's assent to "the bill giving the counties of Morris, Cumberland and Sussex a right to choose representatives in the Assembly, transmitted in 1768."* In 1765, Smith described the county as "being a frontier, not much improved, and having but few inhabitants."† Yet the act which gave Sussex the right to choose representatives, begins by saying: "Whereas, the counties of Morris, Cumberland and Sussex are now become very populous," &c.‡

It is curious to notice, also, the fact that at that time no person could be elected a representative who did not own one thousand acres of land or five hundred pounds sterling English money, and that no one was allowed to vote who did not own one hundred acres of land or fifty pounds sterling English money.§

But the day of petitions has expired, at least so our brave fathers in 1775 thought. They had tried petitions in vain; now they would try powder. The Provincial Congress in that year ceased petitioning the King of Great Britain, but continued to press their petitions on the "King of Kings" in behalf of "the lives and properties, the religion and liberties of their constituents, and of their remotest posterity."¶ Accordingly, the ministers of Trenton were invited to officiate, "in order that the business of the day may be opened with prayer for the above purposes." In that Congress you will notice the names of Chetwood, Boudinot, Ogden and Van Cortland of Essex, Nathaniel Heard and Schureman of Middlesex, William Hard, William DeHart, Jonathan Stiles, Peter Dickenson, Jacob Drake, Ellis Cook and Silas Condit of Morris, Frederick Frelinghuysen and Hendrick Fisher of Somerset, Archibald Stewart, Edward Dumont, William Maxwell and Ephraim Martin of Sussex, with good men "too numerous to mention" from these and other counties. Whether they adopted the rule which was in force in the Assembly of 1672, I do not learn—"that every member of the House shall,

* Writings of Franklin, vol. vii, p. 461.

† Smith's N. J., p. 506.

‡ Allison's Laws N. J., p.

§ And here, as a matter of curiosity, I may state that the elections in those days, and many years afterwards, differed much from our own times. From the unpublished minutes of the Privy Council we have the following facts: In the election of members of the National House of Representatives in 1790, there were 42 candidates, of whom Elias Boudinot, (4,483 votes,) Abraham Clark, (6,435,) Jonathan Dayton, (4,446,) and Aaron Kitchel (2,878,) were elected. The smallest vote for any one candidate was one (George J. Doremus). The whole number of votes cast was 89,338.

In 1792 there were 22 candidates, of whom John Beatty, (6,998 votes,) Jonathan Dayton, (5,731,) Abraham Clark, (5,085,) Elias Boudinot, (4,681,) and Lambert Cadwalader (4,325) were elected. The lowest vote was for James Kinsley and James Schureman, each receiving two, and the next lowest was for Frederic Frelinghuysen, who received 8. The whole number of votes was 87,898.—*Minutes Privy Council*, p. 172, in possession of Dr. McCheaney.

¶ Proceedings of Prov. Cong. N. J., 1775, p. 5.

during the debate, behave himself with gravity and decency; and any member who, during any debate, shall deviate from the subject matter thereof, or attempt to ridicule any other member on the contrary side of the matter, shall pay half a crown.* But, with or without rules, these men did "behave with gravity and decency," and went to work as men who had not merely "the religion and liberties of their constituents" in keeping, but "the remotest posterity also." Every resolution was like the full pulsation of liberty which was then beating in the heart of America. "The High and mighty exalted William Franklin," as Philip Livingston, Jr., called the Governor of New Jersey, tried to rein them up, but found that the people had fed so lustily on what they called *popular rights*, as in mettlesome mood to take the bit in their teeth and run where and as fast as they listed, the driver to the contrary notwithstanding. Without consulting the Governor, they organized regiments and commissioned officers, and among others "the field officers of the first regiment of Sussex county."† Saltpetre was at a premium, and they wanted it to be "*good merchantable saltpetre*," careful souls that they were, for they wished powder that would not "*hang fire*." Moreover, their proceedings are enlivened with sundry evidences that New Jersey abhorred tories, and was successful in bringing some of them to repentance. These sturdy men were not careful to inquire whether the tory was a minister, an esquire, or anybody else. Two esquires in Sussex were thus dealt with. If a tory, he must repent or perish. Meanwhile "the untirred democracy" of Sussex astounded this Congress by "two petitions signed by a great number of persons, and *praying that all who pay taxes may be admitted to vote*."‡ It also appeared that the freemen of Morris county had been so agitated by "the alarming account of the battle of Lexington" as to incur "a debt of one hundred and eighty pounds," "in raising of minute men in May last."§ "The farmers of Essex" also showed some signs to be considered, in petitioning that "money at interest, *lawyers, &c.*, may be taxed."¶ The fathers of Sussex showed "an eye to the main chance" in petitions to restrain shopmen from raising the prices of their goods. In fact, the whole Province was in a ferment. Tories were called to repentance; "strollers and vagabonds," horse-thieves and other nuisances were summarily abated, and the freemen of the State gathered around the altar of Liberty, and pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to the defence and triumph of popular rights. They hardly knew what was to come of it; but having put their hands to the plough, they did not look back.

And it is worth our while to see what they had to rely on in these somewhat unloyal proceedings. In the New Brunswick barracks (February 6th, 1776,) they had ninety blankets, appraised at £62 8s. 6d., and probably all the public stores in the Province were not worth £500; and yet the patriotic conscience was so sensitive as to forbid the drinking of British tea or the exportation of any produce to the advantage of the British.‡ Brave old General Winds has already snubbed and guarded Governor Franklin in a

* MS. in the N. J. Hist. Society.

† Prov. Cong. N. J., 1775, p. 47.

‡ Prov. Cong. N. J., 1776, pp. 149-153.

† Oct. 20th; 1775, Prov. Cong. N. J., p. 66.

§ *Ib.* p. 58.

¶ *Ib.* p. 65.

manner quite his own, "as a faithful officer of the Congress,"* and in June of that year he pleads for ammunition for the New Jersey militia, in "whose bravery he has the fullest confidence." In fact, the sensible Winds "could not flatter himself in the least that he could do anything *material* without *ammunition*!" not then knowing that his lion voice was almost equal to the work of frightening away the outnumbering enemy! "P. S.—*Lead most wanted*," adds the brave man with Spartan brevity.† Even time-serving money-makers were patriotic after a fashion. There was a two-sided Irishman in Trenton, whose politics varied according to the kind of soldiers who happened to occupy the place; and yet in his heart he loved America. When the Hessians were there, aided by a negro he managed to steal two of their ammunition wagons, and concealed them by sinking them in a pond. After the Hessians were gone, he raised his trophies and *sold* them to the Americans. After the war, he was accustomed to say, "the Hessians cheated me, and I cheated the Hessians; but of the two, I rather think I cheated the Hessians the most!" Guns and field-pieces, hunting-shirts and blankets, powder and lead—and above all, brave men to use them—were called for, and it was found they had more brave men than munitions of war. Yet they did not falter. Had not the Boston Committee said, "we are not discouraged; God has done great things for us; He is still helping, and we trust he will in his own time and way deliver us"? And did not those brave Jerseymen believe what their Boston brethren said?

And it is beautiful to see the instructions given to the delegates of New Jersey in the Continental Congress, to take means "for recruiting the army with men of credit and principle," "lest the warmest friends of their country should be deterred from sending their sons and connections into the service, lest they should be tainted with impious and immoral notions, and contract vicious habits." And with a nobility of patriotism which we of this day will do well to imitate, they further instruct them as "guardians of the State of New Jersey" not merely to be attentive to "*its* interest," but to "extinguish by all means in your power, the least appearance of jealousy in its earliest rise, discountenance all local and partial reflections in every instance, and reprove by your example, and suppress as far as your authority extends, Party Feuds and Factions, be the Offenders who they may."‡ Here was a sentiment which allied these men with him of Marshfield who said, "I felt it was my duty in a very alarming crisis to go for my country, and my whole country, and to exert all the power I had to keep that country together."§

And here I may repeat an anecdote which I received from that zealous antiquarian, Dr. Charles G. McChesney, of Trenton: It has generally been conceded that Washington's success at Trenton, all things considered, was the most important fact in the Revolutionary war, because it constituted a *crisis* when our reverses were arrested and the whole country re-animated with hope. And yet but few know how near he was to being foiled completely. That Christmas eve when Washington was crossing the Delaware,

* Duer's Life of Stirling, p. 151.

† Rev. Corres. N. J., p. 118.

‡ Proceedings of Joint Meeting (Dec. 4, 1777) from 1777 to 1789, p. 24.

§ Webster's Works, vol. ii, p. 561.

Col. Rahl, the commander of the Hessians, was in a private house with two or three other *gentlemen*, drinking and gambling. Some tory, who saw what Washington was doing, wrote a note to Col. Rahl, telling him that he was in danger of a surprise, and sent it by a special messenger to Rahl, with orders not to put it into the hands of any one else. On inquiring at headquarters for him, he was directed to the house where the Hessian commander was gambling. A negro opened the door, but refused to let him enter. He promised to place the letter in Rahl's hands, and did so; but that worthy was just then distributing the cards for another game, and supposing that it was some unimportant matter, he thrust the letter into his pocket and forgot it. Had he read it, Washington's plan would have failed; but thanks to his bad habits, for once they conquered his prudence, and with the loss of his life and army, he gave Washington success and America unbounded joy.

It is cheering to-day to recall such names as Aaron Hankinson, John Seward, James Broderick, John Cleves Symmes, Major Hooper, John Rosencrantz, Joseph Harker, Jacob West, Matthias Shipman, Edward Demund, and I know not how many others, of Sussex county, who were ready to carry these noble resolves to the battle-field, and there assert them at the peril of their lives. In constant danger from the Indians and the more ruthless tories, your ancestors in this noble county were ready to fly to the defence of liberty on a broader field than any Indian warfare could furnish. The mothers and wives and daughters of Sussex in that day of blood, were almost enough to protect their own homes; the men were away to do the bidding of Providence as it came from the lips of Washington!*

And yet Sussex had some Tories, as if to keep her on a level with her sister counties. In one instance, no less than ten such were fined and imprisoned.† Ensign Moody probably found some worthy companions along these charming valleys, but the main body of the people took a firm stand on the side of freedom, and looked on a tory with unutterable loathing. Individual tragedies were not wanting to increase this feeling such especially as the massacres at Minisink. In those days the north and north-western parts of the county were a frontier, and many, like Robert Ogden of Sparta, and Caspar Schaffer of Stillwater, were compelled to put their houses in a state of defence. It was a time of suspicion and alarm, and these bold men and women "carried their lives in their hands."

The state of things at that time may be drawn from unpublished documents. For instance, look at this affidavit of "one jeams green," describing an event which thrilled Sussex county and the State with alarm. I copy the paper literally:

"July 8th 1778 Wallpack Sussex county. Personally appeared before me Timothy Symmes one of the Judges of the court of common pleas for this county one jeams green one of the inhabitants of wioming, Who being duely sworne on the Holy Evanjelis of Almighty God deposeth and saith that he was one of the men destined to defend a fort in Kingston and that the enemies Commanded by Col. Buttler & one English Lieut. Col. and the

* Kanouse's Sermon, p. 81.

† Unpublished MS. Proceedings of the Council of Safety, p. 1.

King Owago an Indian Commander with part of six tribes of Indians, 800; who fought well without takeing to trees but lay flat on their bellies to fire and to load. Said green says that these men to the amount of twelve hundred as he heard came within 3 or 4 mile of the fort he was in on friday the 8d of this instant on the morning of which day the Enemies sent in a flag to Col. Denisan to demand the fort with offer of good quarters upon their surrender, and threatening men women and children with emediate death if one gun was fired against them: he says he thinks no answer was returned by this flag: aboute two or three hours after the same flag came in againe. He says he knew the man well. He was one Daniel Engerson who they took prisoner at the first fort; he brought much the same proposals he brought before which were still rejected: to a challenge they sent in to our people to fight Col. Buttler, returned for answer that he would meet their officer at a particular place at a set time to holde a conference: he further saith that Col." Buttler, Dennes, and Durrene with all the men they had which ware 3 or 4 hundred marched to the place Apointed at the apointed time and not finding the Enemies there they waited aboute one hour and then they marched up the river untill they met the enemy when a battle began on the right wing which extended to the left in aboute one minute and continued very smart on both sides but our people were partly surrounded on the left wing in the space of ten minutes when the left wing of our people fled to the amount of aboute 20 men, the others of our people fought aboute one hour when they were surrounded by supereour numbers and some kill'd and some drove into the river, where many perished, some got to an Island in the river where they found Indians plenty to murder them: he says he has since seen one Bill Hammon who was taken on the Island with 6 or 7 more who were made to set down when the Indians tomahawked them one after the other, but before it came to his turn he said he jump't up and run and made his escape by swimming of the lower end of the Island. S'd green says that the night after the Battle he saw the fires and heard the noise of a Grand Cantacoy amongst the Indians who he, said green judges were burning their prisoners alive, he says it was the judgment of others besides himself; for the flag who was the next day in the fort told them that he did not know that there was a prisoner alive among them and that he had seen an hundred and ninety-four scalps in one heape; he further saith that the fort was surrendered or evacuated the next day after the Battle when the people fled toward the Delleware River and in the night sent back George Cooper and jeams Stiles who went to the top of the mountain and saw the houses from the lower end of wioming aboute haff ways to the uper end all in flames and it was sposed they ment to burn the whole settlement.

Sing'd by James Green.

Sworn before me
Timothy Symmes."*

I also find by an affidavit made by Capt. Joseph Harker, of Sussex county, that on "July 22d, 1779, at the mouth of the Lackawack a battle was fought by a party of militia from the county of Sussex aforesaid and

* MS. in possession of C. G. McChesney.

the county of Orange commanded by Col. John Harthorn of the State of New York, and a party of Indians and Tories under the command of one Joseph Brant.* The New Jersey Gazette of May 3d, 1780, speaks of a party of Indians which were discovered at Minisink, commanded by "one Daily, a white man, formerly of Somerset county." "Some of the Jersey militia passed the Delaware and engaged them; a very severe conflict ensued, which ended in the total defeat of the Indians." Daily was left dead on the field, and Capt. Westbrooke, a Lieutenant and one private were also killed in the engagement. The New Jersey Gazette of June 7th, 1780, publishes a letter from a gentleman in Sussex, which describes another skirmish west of the Delaware.

But these were not the hardest difficulties against which the people of this county were called to contend. There was occasional defection at home. For instance, October 25th, 1775, one was commissioned as a Captain of a company of minute men in Sussex county,† but on the 18th of July, 1777, the same man appears to have been fined and imprisoned for speaking seditious words;‡ and in the New Jersey Gazette of March 14th, 1780, we find an advertisement which indicates that this man had proved a tory, and that his estate was confiscated and sold for the aid of the cause which he had betrayed. In that paper and in the one of March 29th, 1780, are to be found advertisements of confiscated estates in Sussex, which indicated that toryism was a sin which Sussex loyalty looked at but to hate. The unpublished minutes of the Council of Safety contain the names of penitent tories from this county, some of whom were pardoned unconditionally, and others on condition of enlisting in the continental army. At a Council held at Morristown, August 14th, 1777, a proclamation had been issued, permitting such a pardon on condition of enlistment in the army or navy. Thus toryism was converted into an efficient auxiliary of Patriotism.

When we consider the state of the American army during that period—half-naked, badly fed, with scanty ammunition and arms, the Governor and Council compelled for safety to hold their meetings at different places—when we consider the strength of the enemy, and the terrible results of being defeated as rebels, we cannot sufficiently admire the valor and constancy of the masses, not only of the people of Sussex, but of the State. They never seemed to flinch or doubt, but in calm reliance on God for the sending of better days, they did their duty as patriots, regardless of the terrors of the halter and confiscation. But the men were not alone. The women of that day spoke the language of freedom, and taught it to their sons, husbands, brothers and lovers. In the New Jersey Gazette of July 12th, 1780, I find the following notable paragraph: "The ladies of Trenton, in New Jersey, emulating the noble example of their patriotic sisters of Pennsylvania, and being desirous of manifesting their zeal in the glorious cause of American liberty, having this day assembled for the purpose of promoting a subscription for the relief and encouragement of those brave men in the continental army, and regardless of danger, have so repeatedly suffered, fought and bled in the cause of virtue and their oppressed country;

* MS. in possession of C. G. McChesney.

† Proceedings Prov. Cong. N. J., 1775.

‡ Minutes of Council; unpublished MS. in possession of Dr. C. G. McChesney.

and taking into consideration the scattered situation of the well-disposed through the State who would wish to contribute to so laudable an undertaking, have for the convenience of such, and more effectually to carry their scheme into execution, unanimously appointed Mrs. Dickerson, Mrs. Cox, Mrs. Furman and Miss Cadwalader, a committee, whose duty it shall be to correspond with the ladies hereafter named, of the different counties throughout the State, whose aid and influence in their several districts the ladies now met have taken the liberty to solicit in promoting said subscriptions."

Among these county committees are found such ladies as bore the names of Condict, Hornblower, Burnet, Mrs. Parson Jones, Forman, Cox, Lady Stirling, Stockton, Morris, Bloomfield, Elmer, Boudinot, Erskine, and many others "like minded."

The committee for Sussex county were Mrs. Counsellor Ogden, Mrs. Col Thomson, Mrs. Major Hoops, and Mrs. T. Anderson.

The spirit of liberty wrought mightily in the hearts of our Jersey ancestors. The rights of the people constituted a cause which they contended for, and for which many of them suffered the loss of estates and life. May their descendants never betray what they prized as inestimable!

If we compare our condition with theirs, we find a wonderful advance. In 1787, the year before Morris county was organized, Benjamin Franklin as Post Master at Philadelphia advertises that "Henry Pratt is appointed Riding Post Master for all the stages between Philadelphia and Newport in Virginia, who sets out about the beginning of every month and returns in twenty-four days." In 1789, the mail was carried between New York and Philadelphia once a week on horseback during the summer, and Governor Morris submits the proposition to Post Master General Spotswood "whether it be not fit to direct that the rider stay one night in such towns where the Governor happens to be resident."* In 1743, April 18th, ten years before this county was organized, Franklin advertised that "after this week the northern post will set out for New York on Thursdays, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, till Christmas. The southern post sets out next Monday at 8 o'clock for Annapolis, and continues going every fortnight during the summer season." At that time during the "winter the post between Philadelphia and New York went once a fortnight."† During the Revolutionary war, horse expresses were provided to give despatch to news. After the Revolution, a humble stage wagon performed this duty between our great cities once a week, taking two days for the journey. The early postal arrangements of the counties of Morris and Sussex I have not the means at hand of ascertaining, but from a package of letters dating back to 1774, written by John Jacob Faesch from New York to his agent at Mt. Hope, I am led to suppose there was then no post route farther west than Morristown, since these letters were evidently sent by private messengers. Perhaps an examination would show that from the organization of Sussex until the close of the Revolution there was not a post route or post office in this county. This I cannot affirm, but such is my impression. But the time is within the remembrance of even middle-aged men, when it took a whole

* Morris Papers, p. 70.

† Sparks' Franklin, vol. i, p. 132.

week for the stage wagon to accomplish its journey from Newton to New York and back. Within a year, you can break your fast at Newton, do a day's business in New York, and be at home to tea and sleep. Twenty-five years ago, the splendid stage coaches and teams of "Reside & Co." astonished us all by their quick transmission of the mails. Only two days and nights from New York to Washington! But now a letter or passenger is conveyed between New York and Philadelphia in four and a half hours, and between New York and Washington in fifteen hours; and the wires flash a message instantly, bringing Halifax and New Orleans side by side. From Gov. Morris's time to the present, the progress has been prodigious. A venerable man of my acquaintance is still living, who remembers when a mere bridle-path connected Rockaway and Sparta; but soon the mad scream of the locomotive will startle the echoes along the valleys of the Hopatcong, the Paulinskill, the Wallkill and the Delaware. The "manifest destiny" of Sussex is to attain a higher degree of physical development and power than was ever dreamed of when Caspar Schaeffer settled at Stillwater, Robert Ogden at Sparta, and Silas Dickerson at Stanhope. It seemed like the raving of a madman for Silas Dickerson's father to say the time might come when navigable water would be made to flow over the mountains of Morris and Sussex, uniting the waters of the Hudson and the Delaware; yet it has been done. And could the men of that day arise from their graves to follow the line of railway now constructing on the banks of the Rockaway and Muskanetcong, modern enterprise digging down the mountains and casting up a highway over the valleys; could they follow the road which you are now constructing from Waterloo to Newton; could they pass along the valleys and the mountain slopes, once a wilderness, and see that wilderness blossoming under the culture of well-directed enterprise; could they pass along the frontier, once so exposed to savage incursions, and find the Minisink and Navarsink the secure abodes of their happy descendants; how would their surprise pass all bounds, and how would they exclaim "Surely the hand of the Lord is in this mighty change!"

Nor is this charge confined to the physical development of the county. School houses have been built, and now you have a large body of intelligent men in the various pursuits of life. Could good Uzal Ogden, who preached here in 1771, now pass over this county, he would not write as he then did, with the slightest degree of selfishness, "in a county where there are inhabitants sufficient to support several clergymen, there is but a single illiterate separate preacher residing in it."* The county, (according to its original bounds) is now dotted over with vigorous churches at Greenwich, and Mansfield, and Oxford, and Belvidere, and Hackettstown, and Hardwick, and Stillwater, and Newton, and Wantage, and Sparta, and other places, not supplied with "illiterate preachers," but by men whose intelligence and piety entitle them to high consideration, and whose zeal for good causes them to ride the foremost wave of every great moral reformation. Certainly where there is still great room for progress, the contrast is very great between Sussex county at the present time and when Uzal Ogden officiated every third Sabbath in "New Town," every four weeks at "Knowl

* Proc. N. J. Hist. Soc., iv p. 152.

Town, 22 miles distant from New Town, and at Hackettstown and Roxbury every eighth week each. Or if we take a later period, we might say some great advance had been made since Benscoten addressed these affectionate words of parting to his flock, or rather to his "herd of swine feeding" at the clover, "hogs I found you, and hogs I leave you." Certainly of the people of that place whom I know are fair specimens of the whole, "the Dominie" made a mistake as to the genius of the animal he had been training! It is true that some of you Sussex people with your portly wagons and fat horses sometimes, with a rather uncomfortable show of regard for popular rights, keep the whole road in a manner which seems to say

"I am monarch of all I survey,
My right there is none to dispute!"

But then I never attribute this to settled wickedness, but rather to that self-complacency which is the result of independence and good breeding.

Fellow citizens of Sussex and Warren, you live in one of the most glorious regions I have ever yet seen. Elevate your common schools till every child shall be educated; increase your churches until every family enjoy church privileges; put an end to the means of intemperance until no one here can ruin his character, health, property, family and soul, and you shall be morally and mentally just like the land you live in, the envy and admiration of all beholders!

But it is time to draw these remarks to a close. In behalf of New Jersey, fellow-citizens of Sussex, I thank you for this celebration, the first of the kind in the State. I trust all our counties will follow your example, and gather together to pay a worthy tribute to the men of the past. Other men have labored, and we have entered into their labors. Let us not be backwards in recording their deeds and reverencing their virtues. Fellow-citizens, you have begun to gather the scattered materials of your own history. Never desist until you have at least in manuscript, the history of every township, church and society. Write out the lives of such men as Ogden, father and son, Hooper, Sharp, Rosencrantz, Symmes, Harker, Hankinson, Schaeffer, and other men equally distinguished. I do not conceive that you have a right to let their names perish. Let the New Jersey Historical Society have the fruits of these labors of love, and then should some other generation desire to make such a celebration as this, the orators of the occasion shall not be driven to such straits as my colleague and myself have suffered. Had your ancestors done this, I might have been able to confine myself to their history alone, but you must excuse me for doing what I could.

Whilst not permitted to deal with your local history, yet I have led you over a very pleasant field. We have traced the growth of popular rights in the Commonwealth, and we have seen that our fathers were true to the instincts of liberty and acted nobly for their "remotest posterity." Like the oak, monarch of the forest, this tree has grown slowly but constantly. Tyranny has sent many a whirlwind to uproot it, but this only caused it to wind its roots, toughened by resistance, more firmly around the rocks of brave and loyal hearts. The storm of 1776 bent it, but neither broke it nor tore it up. Some of its leaves and twigs might have been torn off, but its

roots were twisted and tied about the moveless rocks too tightly, and its brawny trunk and limbs had become too strongly gnarled and hardened into compactness of knot, to be cast down. It still stands with its giant arms lifted heavenward, not defiantly, but in the meek trust which Freedom confides in God. And shall it ever be cast down and destroyed? The answer is with us. If God give us such a love of popular rights as animated our fathers, popular rights which acknowledge gratefully the God of Heaven as the Author of Freedom, and God's Word as its charter and expounder, then our tree of popular rights shall breast the storms of coming centuries, still unbroken, green with immortal vigor. Perish then the disloyal heart which would for a moment cherish the thought—wither the hand which would inflict a wound on this tree of ages!

APPENDIX.

MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE FOR SUSSEX COUNTY.

- 22d Assembly, elected August 17th, 1772, (the first time Sussex county had a distinct representation,) Thomas Van Horne, Nathaniel Pettit, May 15th, 1775. Joseph Barton appeared in place of Van Horne deceased.
- 1776 *Council*——— *Assembly*—Caspar Schaffer, Thomas Peterson, Abia Brown.
- 1777 *Council*—John Cleves Symmes. *Assembly*—Caspar Schaffer, Thomas Peterson, Abia Brown.
- 1778 *Council*—Robert Ogden. *Assembly*—Caspar Schaffer, Jacob MacCollum, Benjamin McCullough.
- 1779 *Council*—Robert Ogden. *Assembly*—Caspar Schaffer, Jacob MacCollum, Benjamin McCullough.
- 1780 *Council*—John Cleves Symmes. *Assembly*—Edmund Martin, Hugh Hughes, Samuel Kennedy.
- 1781 *Council*—Hugh Hughes. *Assembly*—Joshua Swayze, Isaac Van Campen, Peter Hopkins.
- 1782 *Council*—Hugh Hughes. *Assembly*—Isaac Van Campen, Isaac Martin, Aaron Hankinson.
- 1783 *Council*—Hugh Hughes. *Assembly*—Isaac Van Campen, William Maxwell, Aaron Hankinson.
- 1784 *Council*—Robert Hoops. *Assembly*—Isaac Van Campen, Aaron Hankinson, Charles Beardslee.
- 1785 *Council*—Robert Hoops. *Assembly*—Aaron Hankinson, Charles Beardslee, Christopher Longstreet.
- 1786 *Council*—Mark Thompson. *Assembly*—Aaron Hankinson, Charles Beardslee, Christopher Longstreet.
- 1787 *Council*—Mark Thompson. *Assembly*—Aaron Hankinson, Charles Beardslee, Christopher Longstreet.
- 1788 *Council*—Mark Thompson. *Assembly*—Aaron Hankinson, Charles Beardslee, Christopher Longstreet.
- 1789 *Council*—Robert Hooks. *Assembly*—Aaron Hankinson, Charles Beardslee, John Rutherford.
- 1790 *Council*—Robert Hoops. *Assembly*—Aaron Hankinson, Robert Ogden, John Rutherford.
- 1791 *Council*—Charles Beardslee. *Assembly*—Aaron Hankinson, William Helmes, Valentine Bidleman.
- 1792 *Council*—Charles Beardslee. *Assembly*—Aaron Hankinson, William Helmes, Valentine Bidleman.
- 1793 *Council*—Charles Beardslee. *Assembly*—William McCullough, Peter Sharp, Martin Ryerson.
- 1794 *Council*—Charles Beardslee. *Assembly*—William McCullough, Peter Sharp, Martin Ryerson.
- 1795 *Council*—Charles Beardslee. *Assembly*—George Armstrong, Peter Sharp, William McCullough.
- 1796 *Council*—Charles Beardslee. *Assembly*—William McCullough, Peter Sharp, Peter Smith.
- 1797 *Council*—Charles Beardslee. *Assembly*—Peter Sharp, Peter Smith, Thomas Armstrong.
- 1798 *Council*—Charles Beardslee. *Assembly*—John Gustin, Joseph Gaston, Levi Howell, William Runkle.

- 1799 *Council*—Charles Beardslee. *Assembly*—Joseph Gaston, Levi Howell, William McCullough, Silas Dickerson.
- 1800 *Council*—William McCulloch. *Assembly*—Levi Howell, Silas Dickerson, Joseph Gaston, Joseph Sharp.
- 1801 *Council*—William McCulloch. *Assembly*—Levi Howell, Silas Dickerson, (Speaker,) Abram Shafer, John Linn.
- 1802 *Council*—William McCulloch. *Assembly*—Levi Howell, Silas Dickerson, Abram Shafer, John Linn.
- 1803 *Council*—William McCulloch. *Assembly*—Levi Howell, John Linn, John Johnson, Ab. Shafer.
- 1804 *Council*—John Linn. *Assembly*—John Johnson, Levi Howell, William Kennedy, Joseph Sharp.
- 1805 *Council*—George Bidleman. *Assembly*—Levi Howell, Joseph Sharp, William Kennedy, William Armstrong.
- 1806 *Council*—Jacob S. Thompson. *Assembly*—Henry Hankinson, John Coursen, Daniel Harker, William A. Ryerson.
- 1807 *Council*—Barnabas Swayze. *Assembly*—Henry Hankinson, Aaron Kerr, Daniel Harker, John Cox. ●
- 1808 *Council*—Barnabas Swayze. *Assembly*—Henry Hankinson, Aaron Kerr, William Kennedy, John Cox.
- 1809 *Council*—Barnabas Swayze. *Assembly*—Aaron Kerr, John Cox, William Kennedy, Richard Edsall.
- 1810 *Council*—Barnabas Swayze. *Assembly*—William Kennedy (Speaker,) George Bidleman, Joseph Sharp, Richard Edsall.
- 1811 *Council*—Barnabas Swayze. *Assembly*—William Kennedy, Joseph Sharp, Richard Edsall, Garret Vliet.
- 1812 *Council*—Barnabas Swayze. *Assembly*—Joseph Sharp, R. W. Rutherford, Simon Cortright, James Davidson.
- 1813 *Council*—William Kennedy. *Assembly*—Simon Cortright, Joseph Sharp, R. W. Rutherford, James Davidson.
- 1814 *Council*—William Kennedy. *Assembly*—Simon Cortright, Joseph Sharp, R. W. Rutherford, James Davidson.
- 1815 *Council*—William Kennedy, (Vice President). *Assembly*—Joseph Sharp, Simon Cortright, James Davidson, Robert W. Rutherford.
- 1816 *Council*—Thomas Vankirk. *Assembly*—Abram Bidleman, Peter Decker, Robert C. Thompson, William Darrah.
- 1817 *Council*—Thomas Vankirk. *Assembly*—Abram Bidleman, Jeremy Mackey, Robert C. Thompson, George Beardslee.
- 1818 *Council*—Thomas Vankirk. *Assembly*—Thomas Teasdale, Jeremy Mackey, Robert C. Thompson, George Beardslee.
- 1819 *Council*—Robert W. Rutherford. *Assembly*—Thomas Teasdale, Jeremy Mackey, Robert C. Thompson, George Beardslee.
- 1820 *Council*—Robert W. Rutherford. *Assembly*—Jacob Hornbeck, Abram Shafer, Peter Kline, Joseph Coryell.
- 1821 *Council*—William T. Anderson. *Assembly*—James Egbert, Lefheit Houghawout, Jacob Ayres, Benjamin Hamilton.
- 1822 *Council*—Jeremy Mackey. *Assembly*—James Egbert, Lefheit Houghawout, Thomas Teasdale, Benjamin Hamilton.
- 1823 *Council*—Jacob Thompson. *Assembly*—Thomas Teasdale, Abram Newman, Joseph Coryell, Joseph Chandler.
- 1824 *Council*—Jacob Thompson. *Assembly*—Evi A. Sayre, James Egbert, Joseph E. Edsall, — Swayze.

By an act of the Legislature, dated Nov. 20, 1824, Warren county was set off from Sussex. We continue the list of representatives from Sussex county.

- 1825 *Council*—Thomas C. Ryerson. *Assembly*—Joseph Chandler, Nathan A. Shafer.
- 1826 *Council*—Thomas C. Ryerson. *Assembly*—Joseph Chandler, Hiram Munson.
- 1827 *Council*—Samuel Fowler. *Assembly*—Joseph Chandler, Hiram Munson.
- 1828 *Council*—Thomas C. Ryerson. *Assembly*—Joseph Chandler, Hiram Munson.
- 1829 *Council*—David Ryerson. *Assembly*—Peter Merkle, James Evans.
- 1830 *Council*—David Ryerson. *Assembly*—Simeon McCoy, John Hull, Peter Merkle.
- 1831 *Council*—David Ryerson. *Assembly*—Simeon McCoy, John Hull, Peter Merkle.
- 1832 *Council*—Peter Merkle. *Assembly*—Benjamin Hamilton, Joseph Greer, Peter Young.
- 1833 *Council*—Samuel Price. *Assembly*—Benjamin Hamilton, Joseph Greer, Peter Young.
- 1834 *Council*—Samuel Price. *Assembly*—Joseph Greer, Joshua Shay, Benjamin Hamilton.
- 1835 *Council*—David Ryerson. *Assembly*—John Strader, Joshua Shay, Joseph Linn.
- 1836 *Council*—Samuel Price. *Assembly*—Joseph Linn, John Strader, Benjamin Hull.

- 1887 *Council*—Richard R. Morris. *Assembly*—William J. Willson, Isaac Shiner, John Hull.
 1888 *Council*—Richard R. Morris. *Assembly*—William J. Willson, Isaac Shiner, John Hull.
 1889 *Council*—Daniel Haines. *Assembly*—Joseph Greer, Samuel Truax, William H. Nyce.
 1840 *Council*—Daniel Haines. *Assembly*—Joseph Greer, Samuel Truax, William H. Nyce.
 1841 *Council*—Alexander Boyles. *Assembly*—Isaac Bonnel, David Hynard, Nathan Smith.
 1842 *Council*—Alexander Boyles. *Assembly*—Isaac Bonnell, David Hynard, Nathan Smith.
 1843 *Council*—Benjamin Hamilton. *Assembly*—Timothy Cook, Ab. Dunning, Jesse Bell.
 1844 *Council*—Benjamin Hamilton. *Assembly*—Timothy Cook, Ab. Dunning, Jesse Bell.
 1845 *Council*—Benjamin Hamilton. *Assembly*—John Hunt, Peter Young, Thomas D. Armstrong.
 1846 *Council*—Nathan Smith. *Assembly*—Thomas D. Armstrong, Peter Hoyt, Jacob Hornbeck, Jr.
 1847 *Council*—Nathan Smith. *Assembly*—Thomas D. Armstrong, Peter Hoyt, Jacob Hornbeck, Jr.
 1848 *Council*—Nathan Smith—*Assembly*—Martin Ryerson, Peter Hoyt, Jacob Hornbeck, Jr.
 1849 *Council*—Joseph Greer. *Assembly*—Guy Price, William Simonson, Jacob Hornbeck, Jr.
 1850 *Council*—Joseph Greer. *Assembly*—Guy Price, William Simonson, Daniel Decker.
 1851 *Council*—Joseph Greer. *Assembly*—John B. Stinson, Timothy E. Shay, George W. Colver.
 1852 *Council*—Isaac Bonnell. *Assembly*—Benjamin Hamilton, Jr., Luther Hill, Timothy E. Shay.

The Sheriffs and Clerks of the county, anterior to the Declaration of Independence, were as follows;

I—SHERIFFS.

Joseph Brackenridge, Nov. 12, 1758.	Jacob Starn, Nov. 20, 1766.
Mauris Robeson, Oct. 10, 1754.	Hugh Hughes, Dec. 18, 1769.
Peter Schmuck, Nov. 12, 1757.	Thomas Potts, June 18, 1772.
Isaac Hull, 1760.	Archibald Stewart, June 12, 1775.
Ephraim Darby, Nov. 16, 1768.	

II—CLERKS.

Jeremiah Condy Russell, Nov. 29, 1758.	— Doud, Deputy Clerk.
John Gregg, of Elizabeth'n, June 14, 1757.	Thos. Anderson, Dep. Clerk, Aug. 1770.
John De Hart, March 27, 1760.	

The following list contains the names of the Sheriffs and Clerks of Sussex county, from the commencement of the Revolution to the present day.

I—SHERIFFS.

Philip Dodderer, 1777.	Wm. Darrah, commenced October	1818.
William Kerr, commenced October, 1779.	Vancleve Moore,	" 1821.
Mark Thompson, " 1782.	George Mushback,	" 1824.
William Kerr, " 1785.	Benjamin Hamilton,	" 1825.
James Handshaw, " 1788.	Lewis M. D'Camp,	" 1828.
Mark Thompson, " 1791.	Uzal C. Hagerty,	" 1831.
James Handshaw, " 1794.	Alexander Boyles,	" 1834.
Charles Pemberton, " 1797.	John Brodrick,	" 1837.
George Bidleman, " 1800.	George H. McCarter,	" 1840.
Charles Pemberton, " 1803.	Andrew Shiner,	" 1843.
John Gustin, " 1806.	Jos. A. Osborn, Jr., commenced Nov.	1846.
Ephraim Green, Jr., " 1809.	George H. Nelden,	" 1849.
John Linn, " 1812.	Frederick Arvia,	" 1852.
Daniel Swayze, " 1815.		

II—CLERKS.

— Drake,	commenced	1776.	Ephraim Green, Jr.,	Nov. 1815.
Charles Rhodes,		Aug. 1788.	" re-appointed	" 1820.
"	re-appointed	" 1788.	David D. Chandler,	" 1825.
"	"	" 1798.	Joseph E. Edsall,	March, 1831.
"	"	Nov. 1798.	" re-appointed	Feb. 1836.
Jacob Thompson		Feb. 1800.	John H. Hall,	" 1841.
John Johnson,		Oct. 1805.	William L. Smith, elected	" 1846.
"	reappointed	Nov. 1810.	Thomas I. Ludlum,	" 1851.

SURROGATES OF SUSSEX COUNTY.

Jeremiah Condy Russell appointed Surrogats of the counties of Sussex and Morris, November 26, 1758.

Thomas Anderson,	appointed in 1768.	David Thompson,	appointed Oct. 28, 1838.
"	re-appointed Nov. 5, 1799.	Grant Fitch,	" Oct. 27, 1848.
Daniel Stuart,	appointed Dec. 2, 1808.	David Thompson,	appointed
William T. Anderson,	" Dec 28, 1822.	by Governor, to fill the va-	
Thomas Teasdale,	" Dec. 9, 1823.	cancy occasioned by the	
"	re-appointed Nov. 8, 1823.	death of G. Fitch,	Oct. 10, 1848.
Grant Fitch,	appointed Oct. 25, 1833.	Daniel S. Anderson, elected	Nov. 7, 1848.

The interest attached to the following statistics, justify their insertion:

Population of Sussex county in 1810, 12,644; 1820, 16,617; 1830, 20,346; 1840, 21,769; 1850, 22,990. Sussex now has eleven townships, viz: Byram, Frankford, Green, Hardiston, Lafayette, Montague, Newton, Sparta, Stillwater, Sandiston, Walpack, Wantage, Vernon.

By the Census Returns of 1850, it appears there were in Sussex county, dwellings 3,851; families 8,922. Acres of improved lands, 149,582; of unimproved, 94,895. Total, 244,477. Cash value of farms, \$8,390,180. Value of live stock, \$1,049,719. Produce for the year, ending June 1, 1850—Butter, 1,816,610 lbs.; tons Hay, 27,711; Wheat, 66,006 bushels; Rye, 229,795 bushels; Corn, 459,254 bushels; Wool, 24,874 lbs.; Potatoes, 110,020 bushels; Buckwheat, 178,188 bushels; Beef and Pork, 229,011. Industrial Establishments, 170. Capital invested, \$787,320. Value of Raw Materials used, \$379,389. Value of Product, \$808,519. No. School Districts, 120. Scholars, 7,196. Libraries, 12. Books, 7,325. Churches, 44. Aggregate accommodations, 16,625. Value of Church Property, \$95,550. Sussex Bank, chartered 1819; Capital, \$187,000. Farmers' Bank of Wantage, 1849; Capital, \$100,000.



ERRATA.

Page 83, 9th line from top, "*And he maintained,*" &c., should read, "*Had he maintained,*" &c.

" 87, last line of the first paragraph, for "*He is still keeping,*" &c., read "*He is still helping,*" &c.

" 95, 3d line from the bottom, for "*Where there is still great room,*" &c., read "*While there is great room,*" &c.

" 96, 5th line—"to his herd of swine feeding at the *clover*," should read "*at the Clove*"—the name of the place where Benscoten's church was.

" " 7th line, for "*genius* of a hog," read "*genus* of a hog."

" 97, 3d line from the top, the article "*the*" is omitted before "*compactness*," and the article "*a*" before "*knot*."



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